



THE TURKS IN EUROPE

A

Shetch of Manners & Politics in the Ottoman Empire.

BY

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contras.

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PREFACE.

The events which are now taking place in the East are more disagreeable than unforeseen. No politician, whose studies have lain in that direction, is surprised either at the exigencies of Russia or at the attitude assumed by the Turkish government. It has long been manifest that Russia desires to convert the Christian population of Turkey into subjects before claiming the territory which they inhabit as its own; and we were all prepared to behold the Porte yielding to the extreme limit, and then, when aware of the danger, almost too late, arming itself to defend a position already half-abandoned, and calling to its aid the Powers which

consider themselves almost as interested as itself in maintaining its existence.

I was preparing a work intended to show the impolicy of allowing the Ottoman empire to remain as a kind of diplomatic Low Country, on which the battle of influence was perpetually fought with varying success, when the news of the arrival of Prince Menschikoff in Constantinople came to interrupt me. It was evident at once that it would be no longer possible at present to discuss so momentous a question with due calm and completeness, in the midst of the rumours of wars. Every day, too, might change its aspect. Abandoning, therefore, all ideas of a complete political treatise, I resolved to publish such of my notes and materials as had a direct bearing upon the point which is now discussed in every political circle, and may be decided by arms whilst I write; namely,—is it possible for the Ottoman empire any longer to exist as part of the European States' system?

I have long been convinced that a negative answer is necessary; and that some proposal such as that maintained in three pamphlets recently published,—one entitled "Hints on the Solution of the Eastern Question;" another, "The Eastern Question in relation to the Restoration of a Greek Empire;" and the third, just put forth in French at Athens, called "A few Words on the Eastern Question,"-must at no distant period be entertained. As I have said, I was quietly preparing to suggest this solution when similar suggestions began to break forth in the press, and a shoal of pamphlets made their appearance. My brother Percy, too, with his usual energy, having pursued his studies quite independently, suddenly came to me to say that he intended to agitate actively the idea which we had discussed as a mere vision, ten years ago, when we were working to found an Hellenic Association. It was evident, therefore, that the plan of founding a new empire on the shores of the Bosphorus was not a mere literary invention, but that it was the natural product of the present situation.

It may perhaps be premature to talk of an arrangement which, to be carried into effect, would require a revolution in Turkey or the combined action of European Powers. But the pen of an outside politician may overpass a limit which that of an official would not dare to approach. I therefore have little compunction in saying that what is now taking place proves that the presence of the Turks in Europe as a governing nation is a nuisance; and that we ought no longer to allow ourselves to be periodically convulsed and disturbed in our commerce and our domestic policy, and compelled to man fleets and throw our Chancellors of the Exchequer into fits, by telegraphic despatches viá Vienna, announcing that the crazy ship, which every one knows must sink at length, has sprung another leak, and that all hands are called to the pumps.

It is possible that if the Turks be now put to the test, they may make a much more gallant stand than their inconsiderate enemies will give them credit for. If so, this must be taken into consideration in the future settlement, and convince us that Abd-ul-Mejid and his people have a fair claim to be removed to the sovereignty of Bagdad. But we cannot positively afford to be constantly backing a brave little fellow who almost defends himself against a big antagonist. If the Russians are kept off this time from conquest, it will only be by the combined strength of Europe—either developing itself in action or in menace. Moral force is a great power; for it is the threat of physical force.

However unwilling, therefore,—be the result of the present complication what it may,—statesmen must soon seriously set about the task of finding a successor or successors to the Turkish government. If there were no danger of external aggression, perhaps things

might right themselves. The Christian races are rapidly rising into importance; and the Ottomans are dying away of themselves. Many causes conspire to produce the latter result. Setting aside the prevalence of libertinage of a gross character, the custom of polygamy, with its necessary companion bachelorship, prevents the Turks from supplying the places left in their ranks by death. The army, too, until very recently, has been recruited entirely from the Muslim population, who are, moreover, from their carelessness and ignorance of the art of medicine, more liable to be swept away by disease. It has already been said that in a given time the Sultan will find himself without a single subject in Europe of Asiatic origin; and that if we possessed accurate statistical tables, we might fix that time with precision.

We cannot, however, wait until this process is completed; in the first place, because we are not quite sure what kind of entity

would in the natural development of things take the place of the Muslim government; and secondly, because we positively know that the barbarous empire of the north is endeavouring to push on its frontier, so as to include the finest provinces in the world, and the most important maritime station. As a matter of self-defence, therefore, we shall be obliged to take measures to create a constitutional government on the shores of the Bosphorus—if we do not remove one thither—and include under its protection, direct or indirect, as much of the materials of the Ottoman empire as will not fly off, from antipathies of race or division of interests. The press has already suggested some such plan; and it will be as well for public opinion to enlighten itself on the subject.

I have used few books for the following sketches, relying principally on materials received from residents in various provinces of the Turkish empire, and on my own previous knowledge. There is a depreciatory tone throughout, which may be to some extent borrowed from those with whom I have conversed. I do not wish to deprive the Turks of any praise which may be their due. They have many fine qualities, partly derived from their original character, partly from admixture with other races. One feature of their civilization is beyond all praise. They have never admitted the idea of a distinction of classes. All men, rich or poor, titled or untitled, black, white, or copper-coloured, are, according to them, equal. In England, it must be admitted, although few venture to confess the fact, there still exists a profound belief in the superiority of one caste over another; and whoever can rise to wealth or power by cunning or accident, or genius, believes himself to be at once transformed into a being of a superior order, and endeavours to assimilate with the real aristocracy, which pretends to accept him, but continues to retain its own private opinion as to the chemical value of his blood. In America men are sorted into castes by their colour; in France by their opinions. The Muslims alone, whilst hating Christianity, carry out its principles in this respect. wealthiest vizier does not despise the shabbiest beggar; and this wholesome feeling is so worked into the whole race, that if you take a groom, and raise him to the highest offices of the state, neither he nor any one else is bewildered; and the actual value of the man is not supposed to be increased. Disguise the fact as we will, there is always in Christian countries something of sanctity added to the character of the fortunate individual into whose hands power or wealth falls; and I have heard that among some people honesty and wisdom are supposed to belong to any one who is seen leaning on a duke's arm.

The language, manners, and character of the Christian races have been of course in-

fluenced by those of the governing class or In this particular the Turkish dominion has produced a beneficial effect. Amongst all the various nations which have lived under it, this splendid doctrine and practice of equality exists. It is true that there are antipathies of races, founded partly on the same mysterious principle of human nature in which aristocracy, in company with all other errors and crimes, has its origin. And in these antipathies, which are also in part traditional, we may look for the dangers which would of course assail at first any new state, the growth of which European diplomacy may encourage or compel. We must not, however, be deterred from action because all does not promise to be smooth sailing. It is the duty of English statesmen to set about devising some means by which we may not every half-dozen years be drawn away from our own business, and troubled in our progress towards a complete form of civilization, by the necessity

of settling this ever unsettled Eastern Question.

My point of view is perhaps described with sufficient clearness in the following chapters. I may, however, again indicate here, that when I speak of the Greek people, I mean all those who acknowledge themselves as the modern representatives of the Hellenic nation, whose character and opinions are moulded by Hellenic traditions, who speak, or write, or read, the Hellenic language, and who look for salvation in the development of an Hellenic idea. No stress, however, need be laid on words or names. The important point is to substitute for a decrepit race a young, and vigorous, and Christian nationality.

As to the actual position of affairs, it is useless to discuss it—at this critical moment—in a work having a permanent form. However, I must say that it is humiliating for Europe, that the idea should be admitted, as it seems to be, that Russia may occupy the

Danubian provinces without creating a casus belli. It is true that a treaty allows her to do so for the purpose of repressing disorder; but it was never meant that she should use that privilege for the purpose of coercing the Ottoman empire. The very fact that people are willing to contemplate this flagrant violation of right without indignation, proves, however, that the opinion is very generally spread, that the Porte occupies an indefensible position; and that if nations are willing to expend money and character in bluster, they are most unwilling in reality to come to blows. A man was attacked at night by a ruffian with a bludgeon, and ordered to deliver his purse and the key of his house. His cries brought a couple of friends to the windows, who shouted to the ruffian to keep off. No attention being paid to them, they at first talked of coming down; but, on reconsideration, suggested, for the sake of peace and quietness, that the unfortunate passenger should compromise matters by giving up the

key if not the purse. This is an allegory of the present political situation—except that the house belongs to a third claimant unlawfully kept out.

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THE TURKS IN EUROPE:

A

SKETCH OF MANNERS AND POLITICS IN THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE.

CHAPTER I.

THE STATE OF THE QUESTION.

Englishmen and Foreign Politics — Integrity of the Ottoman Empire — A Mere Sham — Theory and Practice — A public Nuisance — Byzantine Empire — The Hellenic Race — Recent Events — War and Peace — The Czar and the Turks.

I Do not know how many times the citizens of London and other intelligent places of this country have been compelled to strain their faculties to discover what possible interest they can have in interfering with the politics of the Bosphorus. It much redounds to their credit, considering their frequent excursions beyond the Nore, that they have never dismissed the subject with an allusion to

Tenterden steeple; and put a veto on the intermeddling propensities of the foreign secretary for the time being. We are perhaps the only nation in Europe in which every citizen keeps a corner of his mind for foreign politics; and in which it is worth while to talk to public opinion about the Dardanelles, the Danubian provinces, and the designs of Russia.

For a long time, accordingly, we have been called upon periodically, by government and the press, to excite ourselves in favour of a diplomatic abstraction entitled "the integrity of the Ottoman empire." This phrase has acquired by degrees almost the magical value of a watchword; and our breasts are scarcely more troubled with enthusiasm when our prudent and eloquent Whig leaders incite us to apply—with moderation—" the great principles of civil and religious liberty," than when this other unmeaning formula is cast into circulation from on high. Nobody, however, who has really studied the Eastern question, believes in the integrity of the Ottoman empire more seriously than in the virtue of Ninon de l'Enclos, or any other

battered thing of times gone by. I think I have observed, too, that those who are behind the scenes begin cautiously to substitute the phrase "the dignity and independence of the Turkish government," which may be diplomatically maintained even if the seat of that government be removed to Bagdad.

It is useless to enumerate here the successful attacks which have been made on every side on this tottering integrity. All round the limits of the Ottoman empire foreign influences have penetrated. Geologists sometimes tell us that our globe was formerly in a state of fusion, but that now the heat has withdrawn towards the centre, leaving the external crust to cool and harden. A similar process seems to be taking place in the East; or rather, to use a less ambitious comparison, old age coming on, the vital forces are retiring from the limbs towards the heart, which also must by-and-by cool into death.

I have long held the opinion that there is something better to be done than to endeavour to prop up this decrepit empire; and no doubt most of our statesmen have examined, though they may have rejected, the only

sound solution which presents itself. It would be too presumptuous to say that this rejection has its reason either in want of judgment or want of knowledge. In politics, more than in anything else, circumstances are our masters. Those who are without the circle of action find it easy to settle great questions upon paper; but they often are unable to take into account the difficulties which stand in the way of trial. It is well that this should be so. The man who builds a pharos is not obliged to be a good navigator: a theory, however impracticable its full application may seem, should be the guide of the statesman; and those who reject its assistance will never be any other than journeymen in politics. We might as well decline the guidance of the North Star because we can scarcely hope to reach it by any mode of tacking whatsoever.

Without, therefore, pretending to speak in the tone of a foreign secretary, I may be permitted to say that the Ottoman government has no longer any internal reason of existence, and that it should be removed. It is absurd that the whole of Europe should

be periodically kept in hot water, that its commerce should be interrupted, that discussion of its domestic affairs should be suspended, that free governments should be almost forced into unhallowed alliance with despotism, that the lion and the vulture should be compelled to make common cause, because a race of barbarians that intruded itself into Christendom some four centuries ago, and has ever since distinguished itself with few intervals of wise toleration—by a savage persecution of our faith, now finds itself too weak for independent existence. Such an anomaly never presented itself before in the history of the world. Diplomacy we know is of no religion; and it must be admitted that the peace of Europe ought not to be disturbed by a crusade, however modified. But when the only means of insuring tranquillity, in one direction at least, happens to be that which would give satisfaction to the religious sentiments of England, it seems incredible that any cabinet tradition, any official routine, should be allowed to stand in the way.

The revival of a Byzantine empire (of

which various persons in various parts of the world, obeying, as it were, a spontaneous impulse, have suddenly begun to talk and write) seems at first an idea too romantic to be accepted by any politicians; and certainly that empire did not leave any very interesting reminiscences behind it. It fell from causes very similar to those which are now destroying its successor. I have little classical partiality for the Greeks. I do not care whether or not the race which now occupies, more or less densely, nearly all the provinces that lie between Cape Matapan and the shores of the Black Sea are really descended from a Pelasgic stock. There has evidently been an admixture of foreign blood,-and so much the better; an influence of foreign language,—so much the worse. I do not believe in the persistent character of races; but still I am willing to admit, if the argument be considered valuable, that there can be no reasonable doubt that those who bear the name of Greeks at present do most probably belong to the same family which shines with such brilliance upon us from

the extreme depths of history. It is, however, as I have said, from no classical partiality that I should be inclined to give to them a principal share in the government of the new state which it is necessary to create in Eastern Europe. Their right derives from their position. In some of the following chapters I shall endeavour to show the importance of this race as one of the elements of the Ottoman empire, and shall explain how it happens that all statisticians who have recently written on the subject have been deceived by Turkish diplomacy into misrepresenting the state of the case, and how Russia, taking advantage of this self-overreaching cunning, has since been enabled to claim an undue proportion of influence in the East on the grand Panslavonic theory.

Whilst these pages have been in progress, events of great importance have been taking place on the shores of the Bosphorus. These events have only served to confirm me in my previous opinions. It is evident that the Porte is no longer capable of maintaining its dignity; and that its sovereignty

fluctuates in a ridiculous manner from the hands of one foreign minister to those of another - from Prince Leiningen to the Marquis of Lavalette, viâ Colonel Rose and Prince Menschikoff to Lord de Redcliffe. reminds me of a drunken man who is kept tolerably steady by friendly or unfriendly elbowings on either side. Events move so rapidly nowadays, that I scarcely can venture to discuss any of the details of the diplomatic movements of Russia, France, or England; but it is evident that our own government was for a time, or chose to appear, deceived as to the importance of the demands of the northern autocrat. Let us speak the truth. The commercial classesever fearful of war, without much care for the reasons why it should be waged—seem to have exerted their tacit influence too strongly in the matter; and it is quite evident that if Lord Clarendon could have counted more certainly on the support of the country, and on the vigorous manifestation of opinion which has taken place, the ultimatum of Prince Menschikoff would never have been presented.

I may here observe, that in the discussions which are now taking place on the conduct of the Czar of Russia, it does not seem to be sufficiently remembered that that potentate is not acting merely on the traditional policy of the empire. He is evidently. moved by the mean feeling of spite, long fostered, in consequence of the successful resistance to his arrogant demands after the defeat of the Hungarian insurrection; and he has seized the first opportunity, when it seemed that France and England must necessarily be disunited by the opposite principles of their governments, to take a tardy revenge. From all sides assurances come to me that the present reckless disturbance of the peace of Europe was planned immediately after the unsuccessful attempt made to induce Turkey to violate the laws of hospitality. I am happy to refer to this circumstance at the outset of my pleading against the continued existence of the Ottoman empire, because—by calling to mind the great service then rendered to the cause of liberty and humanity—I am enabled to mark more distinctly that I do not attack an enemy, but am merely recommending the clearing away of a redoubt which is no longer defensible, and which, on the contrary, may favour hostile approaches.

CHAPTER II.

REQUIEM OF TURKEY.

Barbarian Turks — Manners — Degradation — Effects of the Reform — Infinitesimal Improvements — An old Prophecy — Hatti Sherif of Gulhane — Sultan Mahmoud — Conservatives in the East — Transaction of public Business — How to get a Princedom — Purchased Audiences.

Many travellers, from various points of view, have described the public and private condition of Turkey in Europe; but I do not find that any of them have given an exact estimate of the state of civilization, in that country. It is my conviction that the Turks are still a pre-eminently barbarous race, and that instead of having been benefited by contact with European civilization, they have deteriorated in a rapidly increasing ratio within the last few years. As I wish to convey these opinions, or rather the facts which are the basis of them, into the minds of as

many persons as possible, I shall be, as far as time will allow, narrative but brief. I wish my pictures to be carried away in the memories of those who read; for it is impossible that the thousands of persons who are interested in this discussion can properly appreciate the arguments and observations put forward in the best portion of the press, unless they are perfectly aware of the state of manners and morals in the land of the Turks.

The horde of barbarians which of old threatened to overrun the whole of Europe and submerge its civilization—which founded an empire whose annals form some of the most brilliant pages of history—retain now scarcely a trace of their former cha-Their enthusiasm has subsided into gross egotism. Their faith has become mere heavy bigotry. They have, in fact, reached a depth of moral and political degradation which those who believe in the reform will find it difficult to accept. Nor is their material condition better. The flesh is as ill provided as the spirit. The dominant race may almost be called an aristocracy in rags. Some exceptions "stick flery off" from the. blackness of the rest; but as a rule there is no medium between successful rapine and semi-beggary.

I am no friend to paradoxes; and certainly But I am no disciple of conservatism. forced to admit that the Reform attempted in Turkey by Mahmoud and Abd-ul-Mejid hastened instead of retarding the downward progress of the empire. The Turks who until then had evaded by privilege the payment of taxes were at length called upon to contribute their quota towards the revenue; but without being taught to assist in developing the resources of the country. Their old habits of indiscriminate plunder and extortion were checked: but the want of a proper system of administration, or rather of the materials by which to carry it on, enabled them to turn upon the regular revenue of the country, which they arrest at every corner on its way to the treasury. Thus, directly or indirectly, the Christian population is still compelled to work not only for its own support but for that of a set of idle vagabonds, who, for sooth, because their ancestors were conquerors, must be protected, under the sanction of that fine phrase, "the integrity of Ottoman empire."

I know that it is repeated over and over again in the press and in Parliament, at home and abroad, by those who are afraid to take the bull by the horns, that the condition of Turkey has improved, though only a little, that it is a little stronger, a little less corrupt, a little less disorganized, that it has a little more chance of existence; and statesmen are sometimes willing to take this microscopic information as an excuse for inaction. I maintain, however, that all these infinitesimal improvements exist only in the imagination of those who speak of them. On the contrary, every department, judicial and administrative, has increased in venality and corruption. There may be less violence, but there is more fraud. At Constantinople the state of things is bad enough. The evil grows in proportion to the distance from the centre. It would seem as if the Turks believed that the old prophecy is about to be accomplished, which gives the empire four hundred years of life. They are subjecting, therefore, the provinces from which they must

be driven to hurried plunder—the old habit of a hostile corps about to decamp from an occupied city at news of the approach of a superior force. The Turks have failed, indeed, to assimilate even with the country and climate, much less with the people and the manners, amidst which they have intruded. They have never colonized, but have been for four hundred years billeted upon the finest portion of Europe.

It is high time, therefore, to chant the requiem of this decrepit race; and to push it into the grave with as much decency as possible. Statesmen have now given up all idea of even staying the progress of decay for a limited period. The facts I have hurled together in this exercitation will serve to confirm the despair of cabinets, and extend it amongst the public. When there is no longer any hope of remedy, consolation naturally presents itself; and when a friend is at the last gasp the most unbelieving translate Resurgam without a smile. As long as there seemed a chance that by any possible means the Turks could be painted and padded even into a semblance of youth, we were every one of us willing, for the sake of a quiet life, to seem deceived; but all the cosmetics of diplomacy have been exhausted in vain. Let us admit that death is a great fact; and look for the resurrection of a better form of polity from the land which the Turks have desolated, to change it into a fitting burial-place.

I do not pretend to give a complete description of Turkish civilization, or rather barbarism, but shall endeavour to arrange a sufficient number of illustrative facts to enable the reader to form for himself similar opinions to mine. I must suppose him to be in possession of some few leading notions, as, for example, the general purport of the first measures of reform, and of the Hatti-Sherif of Gulhane, and the subsequent proclamations of the same nature. Nor shall I attempt even an outline of the historical events by which Sultan Mahmoud was led to the conviction that his empire was going to pieces, and that it was necessary to do something to endeavour to hold it together.

The incident most popularly known, connected with the early time of the Reform

movement, is the destruction of the Janissaries—the army of the Obstructive or Tory party in Turkey. This bloody business was as necessary to make way for improvement in Constantinople as the weakening of the landed aristocracy by a repeal of the cornlaws and other measures has been found to be in England to make way for political and social reform. The Ulemas of that region were supported by the scimitars of their banded ruffians, just as the Ulemas of ours were supported by the "votes and influence" of the country squires. I do not, therefore, blame Sultan Mahmoud. Inert matter that blocks up the road to the future must be removed in all countries. My thesis is, that, having acquired the political power necessary to carry out any project of reform, the Sultan found himself in presence of intractable materials. Drive a steam-engine over Shakespere's Cliff and smash it on the rocks below-and then set an engineer to put it together again :--his task will be less difficult than that undertaken by him who bomharded the Janissaries.

Unimportant improvements of unimpor-

tant matters—dashes of paint on the cheek of seventy-eight—are not worth noticing. The great features have wrinkled and distorted with frightful rapidity. Let us begin at Constantinople itself, where we might expect whatever advantage has been the result of the reform to exhibit itself. Instances at once multiply around us. Crimination hesitates not for facts but for words. A methodical analysis is impossible. The corruption is too extensive.

I set out with an account of the manner in which the election of the princes of the protected provinces takes place. The legal formalities having been gone through, the prince elect arrives at Constantinople to receive his investiture. The first thing he meets with is a bill of charges. He is told at once that he must give so much to such a minister, and so much to another, according to the efforts each has made, and the intrigues each has set on foot to procure the nomination. Corruption in the East sets a high value upon its services. A written list is made out, with the name of the Sultan at the head. It is submitted first to the Council of Ministers.

where every item is discussed with the urbanity of bandits dividing the spoils of a village, and then to his majesty himself. But this list does not represent the entire amount of expenses incurred. Some cunning individuals who are set down for a comparatively small sum secretly stipulate for a much greater. In fine the affair is a regular bargain, and a princedom is often sold in this way for the sum of £60,000 sterling.

This transaction takes place pretty publicly. It is almost an official act. Russia countenances it, and even recommends the princes thus to lavish in corruption the money which must of course be afterwards levied upon the purchased province. It is needless to insist on the disastrous result of such a system; but we should be doing injustice to the sagacity of the Turkish ministers if we did not point out that they are always ready to mix in any intrigues which have for their object to overthrow a prince who remains too long at his post, and thus defrauds them of fresh presents. This is one of the principal reasons of the unstable character of the governments of these feudatory countries,

and the uncertainty created, the discomfort, and the oppression, may perhaps reconcile powerful neighbours who have ulterior objects in view to being considered accomplices in so abominable a traffic.

When the princes have thus paved their way with gold, they are admitted to the presence of the Sultan and girded with the sword of office. They then make a round of visits to the chief authorities of the capitalwith hands still full of money-for largess is indispensable from the meanest groom up to the right-hand man of each official. Every corridor and doorway is closed, as it were by begging hands outstretched from either side, and which refuse to give way until they are filled. It is not, however, on this occasion only that such antechamber robbery takes place. Audiences are always paid for in the East; the foreign ministers bow to the immemorial custom, and Sir Stratford Canning never obtained an interview without a consideration.

CHAPTER III.

PUBLIC OFFICES AND FINANCE.

Sale of Public Offices — Presents — Pasha of Mourzuk —
Backshish System — Parallel with England — Mode of
levying Taxes — Violence — European Ideas in Turkey — The Egyptian Army — Finance — Rapacity of
the Pashas — Tampering with the Coinage — Depreciation — Oppressive Measures — Exchequer Bonds —
Farming the Revenue — Failure of the Reform.

I HAVE given this detailed account of the manner in which the investiture of a prince takes place, because the whole public business of the empire is transacted in the same way. Every post, from the highest to the lowest, is sold for money. Even pashaliks and kadiships are knocked down to the highest bidder; and every ambitious man overwhelms himself with debt to buy an opportunity of oppressing his fellow-creatures. The Turkish government, feeling at length ashamed of

this state of things, has often publicly announced its intention of putting a stop to it. Formal edicts on the subject have been issued; but it cannot be expected that they should be obeyed, when the Sultan and his court are the first to break them. There is the following naïve account in Mr. Richardson's narrative of his mission to Central Africa: - "I lent Mustapha (governor of Mourzuk) a sword; but, after keeping it a night, he was obliged to return it, sending word that a firmân had been written to all the functionaries of the Porte, forbidding them to receive any presents. He mentioned the things which a functionary of the government was permitted to receive as presents, viz., two sheep, twelve pounds and a half of butter, fifty eggs, and two fowls. This to be received only once from a friend. But some of the functionaries say they can receive a cantar of butter, if divided into sufficiently small quantities, and spread over several days."

The Pasha of Mourzuk, with his scruples about butter, would be looked upon with contempt in the European provinces of Turkey, where everything is conducted on the system of backshish.

I have in another work, "Village Life in Egypt," made some observations on another part of this system—treating it in a lenient and even favourable point of view. necessary, therefore, in this place, to point out that there is a great difference between the remuneration of services, domestic or other, adjusted or completed according to the good-will of the employer and the efficiency of the employed, and the payment of douceurs, or gratifications, to officials to expedite their motions and direct their favours. I would not be unjustly severe on the Turks, because we, to a certain extent, imitate them in allowing military grades to be the object of a disgraceful traffic;—we have colonels by purchase just as they have pashas by purchase; -but, in spite of the eloquent revelations of certain advertisements, and what is known of the disposal of India appointments, and the acquisition of Parliamentary seats, our public morality flows to a mark sufficiently high above that of the Ottoman empire to allow us to exercise criticism. We are only corrupt in part; but that body politic has not a healthy spot upon it.

Naturally a man who has given a large sum for his post of pasha, and is obliged continually to send presents in order to maintain himself in his post, begins his administration by violent oppression. The worst feature of the Turkish system is, that all taxes are levied directly by the military and political chiefs. I have noticed in Egypt the evil effects of this system; and am disposed to think that if in that country a fair system of raising taxes could be introduced, even if they were heavy, it would make prodigious strides in prosperity within a few Perhaps the great difficulty, both vears. there and throughout the rest of the Turkish empire, would be to find honest collectors.

In most countries government is a system, more or less ingeniously organized, for extorting money from the people; and it may be laid down as a rule, that a governing person, or a governing class, scientifically, or by mere instinct, always contrives to gather to it-

self the whole of that thing which economists have not yet been able to define, called profit, surplus, or wealth. The highest state of perfection is of course that in which each citizen contributes to the public burdens according to the measure of his strength. The history of modern times is the history of the readjustments of taxation consequent on the redistribution of political power. We must, therefore, always examine, not only the amount of money exacted by a government, but the way in which it exacts it, in order to know to what degree of civilization a country has arrived. In Turkey, whatever may have been said of new regulations, this important matter has been left untouched; and we must remember, that although the taxes levied on the subjects of the Porte are heavy in themselves, they would not be sufficient to explain the discontent of the Christian population, on which they principally fall. The great grievance is, that they are levied every year, with circumstances of violence and injustice incredible in Europe, by functionaries who stand in much the same relation to the people as if they were

brigands or invaders. Forced labour and other military exigencies are also added to produce discontent and hatred.

I have often had occasion to controvert those who talk of the wonderful improvements effected in Egypt by Mahommed Ali; and the convincing argument on my side appears always to me to be, that that clever Turk willingly endeavoured to imitate the external symptoms of European civilization, but preserved, to the very last fanatically every essential characteristic of Oriental administration. He manned fleets and drilled armies after the European fashion; but he stole his sailors and his soldiers from the Lower Valley of the Nile, just as he stole slaves from the Upper. He bought the dividing-machine of Ramsden; but he paid for it with money raised by the naboot. grandson, Abbas Pasha, they say, is sending a mighty army to the assistance of his suzerain lord, and this announcement sounds well in the papers; but I saw that army levied by force from amongst a frightened population, and know that private and corporal were hunted down, or snared like so

many rabbits or gazelles, amidst the boundary-rocks of Egypt.

Sufficient has perhaps been said in various quarters about the Turkish bank; and I wish to avoid repetitions. The state of the finances of the empire, as most of my readers well know, is at present deplorable. It has been produced chiefly by tampering with the coinage, which has taken place, from time to time, at short intervals within this century. The rapacity of the pashas, however, was one of the causes why the treasury of some of the richest countries of the world was nearly always empty. Instead of forwarding the tribute they raised to Constantinople, they seized the greater part for themselves, and only sent, as a kind of bribe for impunity, a small portion to head-quarters. I know an instance of a district from which was annually levied the sum of 400,000 piastres, whilst only 38,000 found their way to Constantinople. may easily be imagined, therefore, that the Porte was constantly involved in financial difficulties. The remedy adopted was to bring about what were in reality periodical

bankruptcies. But it must not be imagined that the government was ever conscious of the nature of its doings. It followed the interested advice of a number of bankers, Armenian and others, who saw the opportunity of making a profit. The method adopted was peremptorily to call in the money in circulation, and to re-mint it, increasing the alloy to an enormous extent. Firmans were published, threatening the severest punishment to any who should be found guilty of withholding any old coins. In this unscrupulous way a small profit was certainly made by the government, but not anything like what was expected. The great gains went into the pockets of the bankers, Armenian and European-such as Dous-Oglou, Batatzi, Alion, and others—at whose instigation the measure was adopted. These individuals sent secret emissaries throughout the empire to buy up the old coinage at a little more than its nominal value, and then remitted the specie to England and other places to be melted down. and returned in the shape of ingots for sale to the Turkish mint.

This trick has been so often played in the space of sixty years, that whoever possessed coins to the intrinsic value of one pound sterling now finds himself possessed but of the intrinsic value of one shilling. The ducat of Austria or Holland, valued in Europe at about nine shillings, was worth in Turkey, fifty years ago, only three piastres. It is now worth from fifty-five to sixty. The common coin in circulation consists of villanous pieces of five and six piastres of most detestable material, scarcely worth half their nominal value.

I might dilate on this part of the question almost ad infinitum. All kinds of oppression are practised on the Rayah subjects, throughout the empire, but especially at a distance from Constantinople. From time to time orders of the Sultan are published, enjoining all the inhabitants of the cities and the provinces to give up to the treasury the coins called Istafika, (obsolete) that is, old Turkish coins or foreign money, at a price fixed by the government, in exchange for the depreciated money above described. In this way have the people been despoiled occasion-

ally up to the present time. The representatives of European nations at Constantinople, at first not understanding the evil, did not interfere to prevent it with their counsel, and when they did so, they found their efforts useless, and were compelled to content themselves with protecting their own subjects, and guaranteeing them against molestation by the Turkish authorities. No successful attempt has hitherto been made to protect the Ottoman Rayahs from this kind of spolia-They remain subject to the caprice and good pleasure of the local governors, who are delighted at this opportunity of vexation. Whenever they choose to suspect that good coin has been withheld, they make domiciliary visits, and search the houses, even down to the very cellars. Travellers in the interior, on arriving at the Derveni, or Defiles, are stripped by the guards down to their very shoes, in those wild places, and searched for hidden pieces of contraband gold, which are of course confiscated when found. The abuses that may take place on such occasions, in addition to the oppression ordered by the government, may easily be imagined.

During the progress of the late reform a kind of paper money-exchequer-bills, in fact, were put in circulation; but how could it be expected that they should maintain their value when the government itself was the first to depreciate them? If these notes are tendered in payment of taxes, they are only received at a loss of from ten to twenty per cent.; and if government disburse new gold, it exacts a premium, also of from ten to twenty per cent.—a hundred and twenty piastres for its own piece of the nominal value of one hundred! It must be added, that the actual holders of the exchequerbonds are in a state of the greatest possible uncertainty; for no one knows what amount has really been issued. The first sum was a hundred million piastres; then three hundred millions were added; but what has since been from time to time sent into the market even the government itself would be puzzled There are besides, a prodigious to tell. number of forged notes known to be in circulation; but from the clumsy way in which the originals are executed, detection is impossible.

The same carelessness and want of honesty is exhibited in every other department. For example, the customs of each pashalik or district are in general farmed to private individuals. There is no auction, no competition of any kind. The ministers treat directly with their favourite Armenian, Jewish, Turkish, or Greek bankers; and a public agreement is made for a certain sum, whilst private stipulations are of course entered into, so that official interest may be rewarded. I might mention an instance in which a pasha has been induced to sell a certain revenue of 8,000,000 piastres for 560,000. In farming the other branches of the revenue, as for example, the tithe, which is paid in kind, similar recklessness is displayed; for even when the semblance of an auction is attempted, every one knows beforehand who is to be the successful bidder, and under whose patronage.

These facts, taken at hap-hazard from a thousand similar ones, are perhaps sufficient in themselves to destroy our belief in the vitality of what has sometimes been called the regenerate Ottoman empire. Without impugning the motives or even the intelligence of those who have directed the Reform movement, I may be permitted to say that that movement has utterly failed. The Turks still remain a barbarous tribe, encamped in Europe, where by the sufferance and through the mutual jealousies of the great powers they check the development and stifle the resources of the finest provinces in the world. They are incapable of regeneration. A corpse may be galvanized into motion, but it cannot be restored to life by anything short of a miracle; and these are not the times when we can afford to make so curious an experiment on so great a scale.

CHAPTER IV.

FORMATION OF THE TURKISH MIND.

Muslims — Schools — No Scientific Instruction — Obstacles to Progress — Real Education of a young Turk — Etiquette and Bigotry — Mothers and Sons — Physical Development — Results — Story of Riza Pasha, the Welideh and the Sultan — Episode of Stambouli Diplomacy — Treaty of Balta Liman — Youths sent to Europe — The Osmanli regenerated.

It was necessary to give a few instances of the public corruption of the Ottoman empire, because this is the immediate reason for abandoning it to its fate, or rather for replacing the present tottering structure by one more solid, if less magnificent. We must not, however, lay too much stress upon symptoms; nor must we be unjust to the Turks. Given the necessity to depart from their ancient policy and endeavour to go to school to Europe, they have perhaps done as much as they could—that is, nothing, or

worse than nothing. They are incapacitated from improvement by the very fact of their being Muslims, by the very circumstance which once constituted their strength. All nations which have been violently moulded by an idea, religious or otherwise,—Jews, Spartans, or Turks,—seem to arrive necessarily at a period when not only does their old energy disappear, but they prove themselves incapable of any new impulse. They collapse and crumble into dust; for the fire has been too strong within them, and the core is reduced to ashes.

The manners and character of the Muslims, and especially of the Turks, have been entirely formed on the Koran. No inquiring literature or philosophy has risen up in their minds to take the place of the enthusiasm that was to die away. There has never been among them anything like public instruction of an elevated character. The elementary schools, whether attached to mosques or fountains, or meeting under trees or hedges, are numerous, it is true; but nothing is taught in them beyond reading and writing. The children sit in circles, and snuffle out passages of the Koran in chorus, or scrawl out sentences on their wooden slates. science of arithmetic is only learned by a few at a later period. There are no schoolbooks at all. The child of ten years old, like the old man of fifty, derives in Turkey all his ideas of religion, morals, politics, law, and geography, from the mystical paragraphs of the sacred volume. It is true there is a Turkish literature containing some good books; but these are now rarely read. Turk has settled down into a mere animal state. The medressis, or colleges, are principally frequented by persons who do not intend to attempt occupying any public situation, and who wish to console and prepare themselves for the future by a life of meditation. There is taught there, however, a kind of body of practical philosophy founded on the Koran, together with the Arabic and Persian languages. No scientific instruction is even attempted. The knowledge of European literature and arts—even in those who have travelled in France and England—is so limited as scarcely to be worth alluding to. I have often had occasion to observe the im-

penetrability of all easterns, and especially the Turks, to our ideas, which may enter their ears, but never penetrate further, not finding any place ready to receive them. Of course it is scarcely necessary to repeat that there is one irresistible obstacle to the march of the Muslim mind. It cannot be converted to any other form of faith. Death awaits the apostate; but it is rare that its application ever becomes necessary. There is, indeed, no well-authenticated instance that I am aware of, in which a disciple of the Koran has passed over to Christianity except from motives connected with interest or the passions. I have told a story somewhere of a youth who kissed the Cross from love, and trod upon the Crescent, but he found his way back to Egypt again, imploring forgiveness, and was executed by the club on the shores of the Cape of Figs. No faith seems to have taken a firmer hold of humanity than this sensual one. How it is so deeply implanted I cannot tell. The Albanians, so recently converted by force, are now the most virulent sectaries of the Koran, which appears to have had a wonderful affinity with their harsh and ruthless minds.

I shall now endeavour briefly to describe the real course of education through which, in practice, the young Turk passes on his way to place and power. We shall thus better be able to understand how it happens that morality is at so low an ebb in that unhappy country. Good conduct in after-life depends more than we are disposed to admit on the ideas of right and wrong inculcated almost in infancy—at the period when disputes arise about tops, and probity presides over the distribution of sugar-plums. Let us take a Turkish boy, and follow him from his very birth. If the parents are rich, he is given at once into the hands of a slave-nurse, who, to all appearance, differs from the beast only in the power of vocal utterance; if they are poor, he remains at the breast of the mother, whose intelligence is not of a much higher degree of development. When he has learned to run, he is confided by the wealthy to the care of a servant become incapable from age of performing any other duty; or to a negro slave bought for the

purpose. These preceptors, who know not either how to read or to write, take out their charges on Fridays and feast-days to the public promenades, on the borders of the Bosphorus, and sit with them on their knees, watching the passers-by. On such occasions they are taught to salute with becoming Turkish gravity the pashas, the viziers, the ministers, and all dignitaries who pass in their carriages or their caiques. If by chance an European—a minister of some foreign court—happens to go by, and the child, eager for information, inquire, "Who is that?" the answer is "Domouz Giaour,"-"hog of an infidel!" upon which the young believer immediately makes the peculiar sign of contempt, which consists in forking the fingers and thrusting them forward, as if to blind a person. Thus they are early inoculated with hatred and contempt for whatever is not Muslim-for whatever has the least tincture of modern civilization.

Having gone through this admirable course of etiquette and bigotry, at the age of seven or eight the boys are put under a Khoja, or priest, whose duty it is to teach the arts of reading and writing the Turkish language. The process is slow, and the required proficiency is not attained before the age of twelve or fifteen years. In this, indeed, consists all the mental training which is directly given. If anything else is learned, it is accidentally. But, in the mean time, the lads are pushed forward in another department, by the absurd impatience of their mothers to see them men-terbieh, as they express it. The details which might be given of their early demoralization would seem incredible if they could be ventured on; suffice it to say, that the slave-girls, bought generally, as will be seen, for a different purpose, are incited to obey every caprice of their young masters, and even to make every possible advance so that the fond mother may be able to boast of the precocious development of her boy!

There is, perhaps, no feature in manners in any other country more fearful than this—mothers presiding, from some stupid form of self-love, over the worst possible direction that can be given to youthful energy. Fathers for the most part take no heed of this department beyond providing that their sons

shall marry as early as possible. It generally happens that a betrothal has taken place at an early age. If the youth develop too rapidly, they give him one or two female slaves, sometimes as his own property; so that he is deprived for ever of the chance of learning the most important lesson which human nature has to learn, namely, restraint over the passions.

About this time, some few lads go to the medressis, or colleges, which I have mentioned, and fewer still apply themselves to study under the direction of private masters. But the vast mass remain hanging about their father's house, practising the art of riding on horseback, and amusing themselves in mere frivolity, or worse.

Under such auspices it is that the Turkish youth reaches the age of twenty or so, when he is considered capable of entering the public service, of occupying lofty positions, and of governing the state. We must not be surprised, therefore, that he is by this time worn out in mind and often in body; and that he seizes with avidity on the privilege which the new Reform has given him,

of drinking wine, and, above all, spirituous liquors, by which his stupefaction is completed. It is from among youths of this description that are chosen the ministers by whom the Turkish empire is governed; and, indeed, instances have occurred in which a grand vizier has not even been able to read or write.

Riza Pasha may be cited as an example. The history of his rise to power and the vicissitudes of his ministerial fortunes seem a fragment of romance. He was originally a waiter in a coffee-house, without hope, and probably without the ambition, to rise higher than the succession of his master. One day the Sultan Mahmoud, who was fond of going about his capital in semi-incognito, happened to enter the coffee-house where Riza was serving, quite a boy. He was struck with his beauty; for physical perfections have always more to do than mental with the sudden elevations so frequent in oriental annals; and taking him at once to his palace, made him one of his minions, and raised him rapidly from one post to another until he became pasha. The young and handsome Riza soon

attracted the attention of the Welideh, a principal wife of the Sultan, and an intrigue is said to have been set on foot. Mahmoud about this time died, and Abd-ul-Mejid began nominally to reign, whilst the queen-mother in reality held the reins of authority. She soon chose Riza for her prime minister, and for some time affairs went on well enough under their joint management. But it was written that their harmony should not last. Riza (1846) began to misconduct himself, in the opinion of his royal mistress. Her jealousy was excited and she determined to overthrow him. This, however, was not to be done without the concurrence of Abdul-Mejid, who had now a will of his own, and who was not likely to be pleased by a confession of the real motives of her altered opinion. She accordingly communicated to the young Sultan reports which she had heard of the dissolute life of his prime minister, and urged him to ascertain the fact by personal observation. The counsel found favour in the eyes of his majesty. He was told that Riza, as soon as the easy business of his day was over, used to retire to one of the imperial kiosques on the borders of the Bosphorus, and pass the night in jollity. The morning was generally spent in sleeping off the effects of this debauch; and on Friday, the Mahommedan sabbath, the orgie was generally recommenced in the afternoon and continued during the second night. Accordingly, early one Friday, Abdul-Mejid took his caique, and began to visit all his kiosques one after the other. The navigation was tedious, time passed away, garden after garden was inspected, and no signs of the wassailers appeared. Towards evening, however, the caique stopped at a landing-place, at some distance from which inland, there was a kiosque situated in a vineyard. By this time the Sultan was tired, yet, determined not to be balked in his researches, he sent one of his attendants with orders to bring an accurate account at midnight of whatever he observed. This done, Abd-ul-Mejid returned to his palace, half-reassured as to the moral character of his minister. But the attendant, on reaching the vineyard, found Riza with several other dignitaries, bowl in hand, surrounded by

dancing-girls, engaged energetically in relaxing his mind, overpowered by political exertions. The dizzy conclave received him with acclamations of welcome, glorying, as topers generally do, that there should be a new arrival to keep them in countenance or encourage them to fresh excesses. It was necessary to drink; so the spy drank. Temptation was strong: he drank too much, and it was only at midnight that he remembered the commands he had received. Hastening to stagger away, which he did unobserved, he repaired to the palace where the Sultan impatiently awaited him. The words which he found it impossible to utter were unnecessary. His condition spoke for itself. The next day Riza Pasha was dismissed, and Reschid was named vizier in his stead; and reform became again the order of the day.

An episode of Stambouli diplomacy occurs under my pen. It will illustrate the strength of the principles upon which the Sultan Abd-ul-Mejid acted on this occasion, as well as throw a fresh light on the state of things in regenerate Turkey. Every one remembers that the Hungarian and Polish insur-

gents, retreating before the combined Russian and Austrian armies, sought shelter in the Ottoman territory, and that the victors, not satisfied with their triumph, desired to gain possession of the fugitives. An aide-decamp of the Emperor Nicholas was sent to make a formal demand of extradition. Porte, whether instigated by pride, or yielding to other influences, refused to violate the laws of hospitality—refused, trembling. was determined to send a diplomatist to plead in person with the Russian autocrat. How was this to be managed? The envoy had made his demand in a tone that admitted of no negotiation, no half-measures, no shuffling-no diplomacy, in a word. would not of course listen to a proposal to despatch a counter-negotiator, and would naturally refuse a passport. The Russian ambassador, M. Titoff, celebrated for his economy and his prudence, kept aloof in the affair, and found more solace in the pleasant neighbourhood of Mount Athos than in treading the thorny paths of eastern diplomacy. A ruse was determined on-namely, to despatch a steamer secretly to Varna with

private despatches for Fuat Effendi, the commissary plenipotentiary of the Ottoman Porte in Wallachia, ordering him to ask for a passport from General Duhamel, as if he merely wished to pay his personal respects to the Czar, who was at Warsaw. general fell into the trap; the effendi crossed the Russian frontier, hastened to the presence of his imperial majesty, and was successful in his mission.

But, meanwhile, it was necessary to keep things quiet at Constantinople. The Russian envoy (who, until Fuat had safely crossed the frontier, was not let into the secret that the negotiations had been thus artfully removed from Constantinople to Warsaw, and that his position had been reduced to one of mere expectancy) was naturally irritated. The ministry began to fear that so bold a stroke might end in their total defeat, and that the old Opposition would seize this opportunity to use the timidity of the Sultan as an instrument of its elevation. What was the plan determined on? To draw off the attention of his imperial majesty from political affairs, and prevent him from seeing

anybody that was hostile to them, the ministry resorted to a truly oriental expe-They took the Sultan day after day to the very kiosques which once in a fit of moral indignation he had visited in search of Riza, and there intoxicated him in his turn with music, beauty, and strong drinks. The orgies lasted until his reeling majesty was incapable of business for the day. Similar scenes took place in the evening at another kiosque in a vineyard belonging to one of the ministers. Here all the members of the cabinet, with the exception of Reschid Pasha, who has always been celebrated for sobriety, assembled to drown their cares in wine, and encourage each other to resolution between two hiccups. Thus the Porte, during this anxious period, sought for courage in the bottle; and while Europe thrilled with admiration at its magnanimity, scarcely retained sufficient presence of mind even to understand the threats which the Russian envoy in vain poured forth.

Under such auspicious circumstances it was that the treaty of Balta Liman was made—a treaty in which, despite the pre-

sence of the English fleet off the Dardanelles, a clause was inserted highly detrimental to the interests of Turkey. The Russians obtained permission to advance their troops into Wallachia at any given moment, without sending previous warning to the Porte. It is useless to insist on the possible importance of this clause, because whilst I write, its evil effects are setting all Europe in an uproar. By its means the Czar was enabled two years ago to prepare for his present master-stroke, by impressing on the mind of the public-ever ready to interpret favourably the actions of the first tiger-man who may be in possession of supreme authority—an idea of his excessive moderation. The party of peace at any price, armed with this disastrous clause and that politic retreat to which I allude, are now eagerly endeavouring to prove that the occupation of the Danubian provinces will not constitute a casus belli - forgetting that a privilege granted as a safeguard against revolution cannot be rightfully exercised as a menace and a means of coercion.

To return, however, to the means by which

the Turkish mind is prepared to enter upon the career of civilization which some enthusiasts have predicted for them. Great stress is by many laid on the fact that youths have been sent with different views to France, England, or other countries, for the purpose of having their minds improved. In most cases these students remain Turks both in mind and manners, and show themselves utterly incapable of receiving impressions. The best of them, chameleonlike, take the colour of the medium in which they are placed, and return enthusiastic about English, French, or German ideas. As soon, however, as they are placed amidst scenes to which they have been accustomed in their youth, they almost invariably revert to their old condition, and retain little of what they have learned beyond a few words with which they may deceive Europeans inquisitive about the progress of civilized ideas in the East. have pointed out in other places the fact that in Egypt, however the reigning family -all Turks in soul as in blood-may pretend to have been influenced by European ideas,

they have been only so externally—in the costume, as it were, of their government. All essential matters—especially the mode of collecting the revenue—have been allowed to remain as before. The same remark may, as a general rule, be extended to Turkey. The turban has been abandoned; but the lining of the head has not been changed. B- Bey blating about Rousseau and Ricardo in the same breath that he orders his pipe-filler to be bastinadoed for dropping a hot coal on his carpet, or issues a mandate for seizing on every passer-by, man, woman, or child, to dig a watercourse through his garden, is a type of the Osmanli regenerated by European ideas.

CHAPTER V.

FEMALE INFLUENCE ON CIVILIZATION.

Ignorance of the Women—Anecdote—Accomplishments
— Harim Life — Bachelors — Licentiousness of the
Turks — Intercourse of Man and Wife — Married
Women and Intrigues — Constantinople, how built —
Promenades of the Ladies — Carts — Amusements —
Jollifications — Walk of Elm-trees — Jew Comedians —
Sumptuary Laws — Women in the Harims — Their
Influence on Manners — Women of the East and of
the West.

WE have thus seen in what way the aspiring youth of Turkey are brought up, and how they have profited by the diminution of bigotry effected by the reform. "Men make laws, but women form manners," says the proverb. Let us, therefore, say something of female education in Turkey. In the first place, it is perhaps unnecessary to state that in their case the Khoja is not called in. Not one of them learns how to read or to write; or, if there be a few ex-

ceptions, they cannot be mentioned, from their rarity, in an account of manners. have heard of an instance in which learning was mentioned by a female marriage-broker as an inducement to a young man in search of a pattern wife. He was at first alarmed, and determined to break off the match: but curiosity attracted him, and when he got possession of his bride, his first care was to open a Koran and set it before her, and request her to read. She ran her pretty henna-stained fingers down the page, and at last came to the letter waw, upon which she pleasantly barked, "waw-waw," like a little dog. This was the sum of her knowledge; and the young husband took her in his arms, and exclaimed: "Thanks be to the Prophet, it is no worse!" Up to the age of twelve years, girls are treated rather as dolls than as children, surrounded with all kinds of mistaken kindness, accustomed to receive obedience from numerous slaves of their sex. Afterwards some slight notions of the conduct of household affairs are given them,-as how to wield a chibouk, how to present it to their husbands, how to hand round sherbets. Sometimes they are taught to play on the tambourine, or an instrument resembling an elongated guitar. This is about the amount of their education.

We commonly conceive a Turk as a burly individual, surrounded by a great number of submissive beauties, anxious for the honour of the handkerchief; but it is not remembered that there is a prodigious number of bachelors in the East. In spite of the disgrace in which celibacy is held, a large proportion of the men of the middle classes abstain from marriage, on account of the difficulties thrown in their way by manners and the competition of the rich. I have known instances among the Levantines in which a young shopkeeper has been compelled to spend half his capital to procure a dirty little wife. The same system of purchase prevails among the Turks, and is indeed derived from them. The number of unmarried persons in the Ottoman empire is therefore very great. This may partly account for the development of vices which alone are sufficient to bring a race to the lowest depths of degradation, and to

which I can do no more than allude here.

The Turks are naturally a licentious race. Even the conformation of their heads reveals that fact. The posterior portion is enormously developed; and the napes of their necks are something almost miraculous to behold—they resemble those of bulls. are often uxorious, and in case no suspicion of jealousy crosses their minds, treat their wives with considerable deference. Few will venture to appear in the presence of their ladies in the slightest degree intoxicated; and they will submit to be beaten on the day of Beiram, if from poverty, or other causes, they have been unable to bring home the roast shoulder of mutton required by inexorable custom for the family dinner of that day. Eastern ladies often resort to this summary mode of proceeding with their lords and masters, even when not protected by the privilege of a festival. It is true that, on the other hand, they are exposed to similar treatment if they carry the joke too far, or misbehave in any way; and that the sack-of which it is now the custom to make fun among wags who have looked at the outside of eastern manners—is always ready to punish serious derelictions of duty.

Once married, the Turkish women consider themselves free; and, indeed, they enjoy far more freedom than we are accustomed to believe in Europe. Their veils and hideous uniform costume keep them in a state of permanent disguise; and with this advantage, under pretext of paying visits to friends or relations, they may go where they will in company with their slaves. Only the wives of the Sultan and some great viziers are now encumbered with the unpleasant attendance of eunuchs. A not uncommon place of resort is one of the public cemeteries. where hasty intrigues are often formed with soldiers, peasants, the first comer, in fact; for it is perfectly absurd to expect to find our notions of morality, save as wonderful exceptions, in a country where all the conditions necessary to their growth are wanting. Narratives, more or less exact, have often been given of eastern intrigues. shall not enter upon that ground, being satisfied to remark, in general, that when the hero of their tale is a Frank, it is probable that romance has adorned or originated the story. It is quite certain, however, that Turkish women do find plentiful opportunities of intriguing with men of their own religion, not only in the way I have indicated, but in many others. Their imaginative literature, like that of the Arabs, deals almost entirely in the artifices by which lovers have contrived to meet, eluding the guardianship of eunuchs, and of husbands or masters.

Constantinople, like all eastern cities, seems built principally with a view of insuring the privacy of families, and thus rendering intrigues impossible. The windows that look upon the street always remain closed with lattice-work. It never happens that the windows of one house look upon the courtyard or garden of another. All partition-walls are extremely lofty, and are sometimes raised still higher by an ugly hoarding. This mysterious mode of living is excessively tantalizing to strangers, who have sometimes imprudently endeavoured to satisfy their curiosity, but generally with disastrous results.

Nearly all Turkish women sally out every Friday to take the air, away from the town, on the banks of the Bosphorus, or to some of the places where water and shade may be found. The wealthy go in carts without springs, of unwieldy and primitive construction,-six or seven heaped together;-and sometimes their husbands lead the oxen or horses to the chosen spot, and then go away, leaving the women perfectly free to enjoy themselves as they please. The most popular amusements are the singing and music of the gipsy women, who repair thither for the purpose-music which is amorously languid, and singing which is detestably indecent. A lunch is generally brought out, and when this is despatched, smoking and drinking commence-drinking not of sherbet, but of good brandy, or other strong liquors, which soon induce a boisterous gaiety, so that the sultanas whom we often imagine as pining away imprisoned, may be seen rolling in convulsions of inextinguishable laughter on the turf, or huddled up in a still more advanced stage of intoxication, like bundles of rags. Their Montenegrin

servants, who are the privileged beholders of these scenes, are often compelled to haul them into their carts, in which they are jolted back to the harim. Those who are not too far gone frequently pull up in passing through the Christian quarter, at the doors of taverns, to get more drink; and a file of a hundred carts may often be seen stopping in one street, all full of women, some made bold and chattering by their excess, others hanging sleepily about and murmuring to be taken home. There is a walk planted with elm-trees, not far from the city, where only women are admitted. Two or three thousand assemble there at a time, and, sitting upon a verdant slope, enjoy the indescribable pantomime of a comedy, which some infamous Jews, hired for the purpose, perform on the limits of the forbidden ground for their amusement. Europeans, of course, cannot enter the walk itself, but they may see the crowds collected at a distance, and hear the shrill applause which every act more than usually beastly of the mountebanks creates in the female crowd. On these sions it would scarcely be possible for a

stranger to recognize eastern life from the descriptions he is accustomed to read. The free conduct of the women has more than once attracted the attention of the government, which not very long ago published an edict, complaining that they remained out late at night, that they rode forth in coaches with young Christian drivers; that they ventured into shops, especially those of anothecaries; and even pushed their audacity so far as to eat ices in the Frankish coffee-houses of Galata and Pera. The edict accordingly recommended that early hours should be kept, and forbade women to enter shops of any kind, or be driven about by young coachmen. These interferences with manners which were supposed to be great advances in civilization, and which seem strangely accompanied by proclamations giving permission to women to appear on the public promenades, were of course ineffectual. The women continue their old customs, though some have been hanged or drowned for being found in the back shops of Christians. It will require something else besides repressive measures to bring about a reform in this respect. All

in the East, moreover, have the temporary character of proclamations. They are applied for a day and forgotten. It is forbidden, for example, most expressly for shopmen to have any other than old men as servants; and they almost without exception have spruce dashing young attendants.

In the interior of the harims the occupation of the women consists chiefly in receiving visits, telling equivocal stories, dyeing the finger-nails, painting the cheek and eyebrows. Dancing-girls are sometimes introduced; and lately barrel-organs, with obscene puppets, have been forwarded in great numbers from Italy, for the amusement of these idle princesses.

I wish particularly, having said so much, to guard against the supposition that I attempt to deny to the Turkish women the possession of any good qualities whatever. It is evident, that, like all other Eastern women, their attachment to their children-however misunderstood—is great; and bright instances of conjugal fidelity and devotion have been quoted. My plan necessarily leads me into a criminating tone; and it is quite sufficient

that the great mass of the female Muslim population of Turkey should have the faults, and should follow the customs I have indicated, to render my argument complete. Brought up by such mothers, it is absolutely impossible that there can be any hope of regeneration in the Ottoman race. There is one trait of Turkish manners which I hardly like to omit, and which it is almost necessary to tell, in order to illustrate completely the material mode of viewing things which still prevails amongst this race. The old joke of the crier going about the street of a morning is founded in fact; and the law allows the wife once a week to be supreme over her husband.

Travellers are accustomed to discuss gravely whether or not the Turkish women prefer the system of semi-seclusion to which they are subject, to the Frankish system. The fact is, that their education precludes them from understanding any other state of manners than their own. If we wish to discover their real sentiments, we must examine how far they have broken through, by the irresistible force of female persever-

ance, the barriers which jealousy in theory erects around them. According to Muslim ideas, a woman should live only for her husband; should never show herself, though veiled, to another man; should avoid intercourse with strangers even by signs. How far practice coincides with their theory we have seen; and it may safely be said that the system of seclusion is practically condemned.

CHAPTER VI.

TURKISH WIVES AND MOTHERS.

Peculiar Trade — Nurseries of Wives and Mothers —
Buying up Young Girls — Traffic in Georgian
Slaves — How they are imported — Miserable Condition — The Market — Preparatory School for the
Harim — Wives of the Sultan — Curious Contest —
Princes of the Blood — Treatment of Princesses —
Horrible Incident — The Slave Bazaars.

Many rich Turkish ladies carry on a trade, for which we have scarcely any name. They keep what may be called Nurseries of Wives and Mothers; and find both pleasure and profit in training their young protégées for the duties of married life. Their agents go about collecting the raw material of their manufacture, picking up orphans, foundlings, or the children of poor parents; for in the East there is no prejudice of birth, and the lady is distinguished from her servant only by education or wealth. The task of train-

ing is by no means difficult. Not much knowledge is expected of an Oriental matron; and in this case at least neither the idea of virtue nor the sentiment of modesty is inculcated. We have already hinted in what way the flock of young maidens is made to contribute to the development of the young masters of the house. The rest of their instruction is simple enough, differing indeed in no respect from that which has been described in the previous section. They are early ready to be sold as wives or mistresses.

Beautiful girls are often bought by these professional trainers in high life for eight or ten pounds, and afterwards sold for four or five hundred. The profit constitutes the pin-money of the harim. A number of old women—bride-brokers—carry on the trade, to which not the slightest idea of shame is attached. They discuss the price of their merchandise para by para, and as openly as if they were selling a pair of slippers or a parcel of perfume. Sometimes they act as agents for some old gentleman, who finds his house lonely and his purse sufficiently full to enable him to indulge in

the luxury of a companion; and sometimes they undertake the still more equivocal task of going about warming the imaginations of bachelors and others by luxurious descriptions of the caged beauties. They generally take money on either hand, and it must be admitted that many good matches are struck up by their care.

There is no prejudice against partners obtained by these means. On the contrary, many Turks prefer damsels brought up in this way—perhaps because they are without the incumbrance of relations—especially when they come from the harim of a minister or other great functionary. The wife of Reschid Pasha, who by the way is no polygamist, has generally some forty young creatures to dispose of, and finds no difficulty in getting rid of them. The demand is always equal to the supply.

Another source from which vacant harims are filled is the market of Georgian slaves; but it is by no means so popular. These unhappy creatures, who are embarked at Trebisond on board of the regular steamers, reach Constantinople in a very sad and pitiable state. We can imagine an Euro-

pean reader almost envying the captain under whose care is placed so poetical a cargo; but, alas! the truth is, that the Georgians are looked upon almost as suspiciously as a hundred cases of leeches for the Marseilles market. It is true they are separated as much as possible from the rest of the passengers, penned in like a flock of sheep, and hidden by dirty cloths; or, in bad weather, crammed below like negroes in the middle passage. In spite of these precautions the whole vessel suffers from their presence. Nearly every one of them has the itch; and, without exception, every one brings away a colony of native vermin. This is easily accounted for. The poor things resemble not a bevy of English maidens going out voluntarily to seek for husbands in the barracks of Madras or Calcutta. They are sold from poverty or avarice by their parents or friends, and are handed over nearly naked to the purchaser. To dress them would eat up all the profits. A ragged shift and piece of canvas wrapped round their shoulders—such is the costume in which they crowd by day and huddle together at night, whispering or

dreaming of the splendour which has been promised them, to dispel their sorrow or their sulkiness,—and perhaps giving a passing thought to the home which has cast them forth, like the pet-lamb when it has outgrown the fondness or the patience of its mistress. The merchant, with the uncalculating stupidity which characterizes all dealers in human flesh, fattens these future sultanas during the voyage on water and millet-flour porridge. They arrive at their journey's end in such a state that few connoisseurs in incipient beauty would venture to pronounce an opinion.

Sometimes, when the owner is in haste to realize, he drives his Georgian flock to market in the unseemly condition in which they come ashore; or at most throws around them a ferigeh—the mantle of the Turkish women. Chance for the most part presides over the sale. The purchaser keeps at a respectful distance from his acquisition—as a doctor might from a plague-patient; and drives her before him to what may be called a preparatory school for the harim. A number of old women, indeed, gain their living

by polishing up this rough material, curing them, by remedies of which they have the secret, of their disease, combing their hair into shape, scrubbing them, and exterminating the reminiscences they have brought with them from their native hovels. Whilst performing these duties, they take occasion to instruct them a little likewise in Turkish etiquette, and in the means they must adopt to win the affections of their masters. The last rags of modesty are thus torn away; and the slave is ready to become the Mother of a Grand Vizier! We must add, that frequently the girls are not brought to market until this preliminary process has been gone through; and the impatience natural to human nature of course in such cases gives a price that more than covers the expense of breaking-in.

From the two classes of women I have thus described most of the consorts of persons high in rank are taken. Such are the mothers of the ministers of the Sublime Porte, ay, and of all the sultans that have ever reigned on the shores of the Bosphorus; for the Sultan does not, in those simple countries, either beg the hand of a princess he has never seen, or, imitating a common man, choose a wife among the coquettes of a ball-room. The state provides the partner of his couch. At various periods of the year, fixed by law, the Council of Ministers and the Ulemas, in conclave assembled, vote, as it were, a subsidy of girls, bought at the public markets, or at private sales, and send them with high solemnities into the arms of his Sublime Majesty. On these occasions the Sultan goes in pompous procession to the mosque; and, no doubt, thanks Heaven for the large supply of angels which have come to illuminate his solitary hours.

The first batch of course is the most gratefully received. It has all the savour of novelty; and moreover, a wonderful contest is now open. Nature alone can decide who shall win the prize. Ambition tortures and hope soothes the minds of the expectant queens. It must be a pleasant sight to watch their rivalries and listen to their confidences; almost as pleasant as to see a fleet of yachts tacking towards the goal. Who knows, moreover, what myste-

rious machinations may be set on foot?—The first of them who brings forth a male child is declared chief wife of the Sultan,-Walideh, mother of the presumptive heir to the crown. She alone ripens into a matron. She alone can expect to indulge in the delicious sentiment of maternity. All the others are bereaved for evermore. They sink into mere instruments of pleasure. If they happen to become mothers of boys, they no longer consider themselves blessed but accursed. Their children are shut up in what is called the Kafess, an apartment of some palace without any look-out. Here these unfortunate princes of the blood pass their lives—if they happen to live, their solitude cheered sometimes by women no longer in danger of maternity, sweepings of the harims of their father or brother, who remain like so much lumber about the palace. How many souls must be crushed, that the Turk may have "no rival near the throne!"

If the wives of the Sultan happen to bring forth daughters, their lot is perhaps still worse. The princesses, as soon as they have reached the age of puberty, are married to old pashas from whom no heirs are expected. There must not exist even a lateral branch of possible claimants of power; and this is the expedient generally adopted. But in other cases, when young husbands are chosen, oriental unscrupulousness is brought into play more directly to prevent the possibility of a disturbance of the succession. The late Sultan Mahmoud married his daughter -sister of the present Abd-ul-Mejid, to a pasha, named I believe Halil. happy woman was brought to bed of a boy during the reign of her brother, at the height of the Reform fever, when all Europe believed that Turkey was abandoning her barbarous laws and customs. An executioner was ready to receive the innocent babe, condemned before it was born, and at once, to use the energetic language of the narrator, "wrung its neck like a pullet." The mother listened impatiently for the infant's cry, and cast about her eyes in search of its form. Then she gave a loud shriek, suspecting the truth, and ere the nurses could hold her, she rose like a lion, wringing her hands, writhing her body, and after rushing about for a while like one mad, fell lifeless on the ground. Her death, says the story, was regretted by the Sultan, who loved her much. Everybody shed tears for her, because she was of prodigious beauty and exhaustless goodness. But expediency required the sacrifice; and will continue to require similar ones. The "reason of state" is inexorable.

We must add to this account, that although at various times, firmans have been published announcing the suppression of slave bazaars, the slave-trade goes on with undiminished vigour. It is true that the markets where blacks were sold were for some time closed: but they have since been opened once more. During the interval that elapsed nothing was gained by humanity. The trade went on in the caravanserais, and in private houses, and on board the vessels in which the blacks arrived from Eygpt, or the coast of Barbary. In fact it was difficult to make the Turks give up their regular supply of household servants;—it would have been impossible to make them give up their supply of wives and mistresses. The markets of Georgian and other white slaves continued to be kept open whilst the Reform was most triumphant; and indeed any change in this respect was evidently impracticable as long as the harims of the great dignitaries of the empire were changed into Bride Nurseries and Love Depôts!

CHAPTER VII.

THE TURK AND THE TAILOR.

Oriental Luxury — European Notions thereof — The old Costume — Putting on a Shawl — Reform in Dress — New Fashions — Old Garments turned to use — Harlequin Turks — The Fez — Dress in the Country — Change in Character.

We often talk with a certain amount of awe in these cold north-western climes of "oriental luxury," which we figure to ourselves as something beyond measure glorious. The expression is associated in our minds with domed palaces, marble fountains, hangings of brocade, fairy gardens, jewels, music, and beauty, disposed in a landscape lighted up by the mellowest of suns. We forget that even when this conception finds some semblance in reality, that comfort is overlooked in the midst of splendour; and we envy the condition of pashas who do not possess a

pair of stockings which we could wear without being incurably corned.

The fact is, that our notions, derived from the "Arabian Nights" and other oriental romances, are no longer correct in any respect. Europeans, satirists or others, on arriving at Constantinople, to say nothing of other eastern capitals, are shocked by evidences of discomfort, and even misery, at every step. We shall endeavour to rectify the impressions of those who stay at home—partly from a general love of truth, partly that no morbid poetical feeling may interfere in the minds of our readers with the formation of a correct estimate of the political condition of the Ottoman empire.

Formerly, when the Turks wore what we are accustomed to call the Asiatic costume, but which was in reality derived from the Greeks; when they were draped in cloaks that enveloped the entire body, and indulged in head-dresses infinitely varied, and nicely adapted to the different ranks of society; when they bound also their robes of Indian stuffs with Kashmire shawls, and carefully trimmed, and dyed, and perfumed

their flowing beards, it was possible to associate them with ideas of luxury and The lover of the picturesque, grandeur. however, who had enjoyed the privilege of seeing a Turk perform his toilette, was obliged to forget a good many comic circumstances. To say nothing of the grave absurdities of the bath and the barber's shop, it was perhaps sufficient to have witnessed a burly Osmanli putting on his own shawl, to be unable ever afterwards to look upon him without a smile. I remember once seeing a circumcised Falstaff fasten his Kashmire, six or seven yards long, to a door-handle, and having gone with the other extremity to the opposite side of his court-yard, begin to wind his huge paunch into it with as much gravity and decorum as if he were performing a pious mystery. He had a peculiar theory as to the position of every fold, and if he failed in arranging them exactly, would unwind himself again with a rapid rotatory motion, his hands raised in the air. The operation, with all its vicissitudes, generally lasted about half an hour; and I have rarely seen a magnificent Effendi, without thinking of how he must have looked whilst putting on his shawl.

However, it must be admitted that when a Turk of the old school has succeeded in rigging himself out, and walks with grave and measured step along street or bazaar, he does certainly seem to have a claim to be called one of the lords of the creation. But this illusion, as most of my readers must be aware, has almost entirely vanished since the Reform. Sultan Mahmoud, in his desire to imitate Peter the Great, completely metamorphosed the appearance of all persons employed under government, -that is to say, of nearly every one who was formerly possessed of wealth sufficient to wear the old costume with proper amplitude. His example has been followed by his successor; and every functionary, high or low, has been compelled to assume a kind of Frankish costume, topped by the fez, or red cap, which formerly formed the skeleton, as it were, of the turban. I am disposed to think that this change has gone a great way towards destroying the nationality of the Turks, and revealing their nakedness to the world. It was thought that with the European dress these barbarians would assume the activity and energy of the Giaours—perhaps, also, their instruction and their civilization. The maxim that the coat makes the man, was pushed to its utmost extreme: the result, however, did not answer the expectation. Contrary effects, indeed, were produced. The Turks, whilst abandoning, much against the grain, their national costume, abandoned also, with far more willingness, their character and special physiognomy, without assimilating to the Europeans, except in the use and abuse of ardent spirits, and, in many cases, of pork. The ancient costume, whilst it covered their body, covered also their ignorance and their harbarism: the Frank dress has revealed "the thing itself"—the forked, two-footed animal, and has rendered it ridiculous to the last degree.

I do not, for the present, pretend that the European dress is in itself comic or absurd; but simply that the way in which the Turks have adopted it has changed them from the most solemn-looking beings on the face of the earth to a sort of harlequins infinitely amusing to behold. In the first place, they do not yet know how to wear a frock-coat, and are often to be seen with one arm only in the sleeve, whilst at other times they button the garment at the throat, and allow it to hang round them like a cloak. Moreover, even now that the ancient customs have nearly passed away, they have not yet used up their old material. They wear new suits, made out of their old garments, of green, red, or yellowcoats, waistcoats, and trousers, variegated as Joseph's raiment. Their legs, formerly accustomed to have free play in their huge hose, which served likewise to conceal their defects, are now exhibited in all the deformity distinctive of an equestrian nation. They have not yet given up the habit of sitting cross-legged, and at their ease, so that their backs are almost always rounded, and they walk in a slouching, shambling manner, totally inappropriate to their tight dresses. Whoever wants to have a proper idea of a regenerate Turk, must go into one of the dirty streets of Constantinople, where he is sure to see a biped shuffling along in a pair of huge babooshes—down at heel, of course — with straps passing under the ragged stocking; with a frock-coat of yellow, red, or green, thrown carelessly over his shoulder, perhaps with only one sleeve on; walking with head hung down, and every sign of shame and humiliation in his appearance. Few of the Turks have really become reconciled to their new costume: they feel like winged birds, or the fox without a tail. Many of them, on returning to the privacy of their harims, hasten to throw aside their infidel frock-coats, and to dress themselves as their fathers dressed before them, and, after the fatigues of the day, to undergo the wearisome operation of binding round their abdomens with a sextuple shawl! believe that it is only when thus dressed out that they can venture to maintain the dignity of manhood in their families. I have no doubt, in fact, that the number of henpecked husbands has vastly increased in Turkey since the new reform. It ought to be added, that the Muslim religion, requiring many ablutions and many prostrations every day, renders our tight costume more disagreeable than it otherwise would be to the Turks. The fez adopted is an ugly flat-topped stiff thing, most ill adapted for every purpose for which a head-covering is wanted. Some modification of the hat would long ago have been introduced, were not that article of costume supposed to be distinctive of Christian countries, just as we are accustomed to regard the turban as the peculiar sign of Mahommedanism.

The artisans, the peasants, and the labourers, in the various provinces of the empire, have preserved the ancient costume very nearly unchanged. But instead of glorifying themselves therefore, singular to say, they feel themselves humiliated: not understanding the reason of the change of dress which has taken place among the wealthy and the powerful, and not sympathizing with the regrets and prejudices of the old Tory Turks, they think their poverty degrades them in a marked manner. The sun of fashion shines not upon them; and whilst the great functionaries of the Porte secretly groan over the political necessities which cramp the free play of their limbs,

the humble provincial Turks would gladly leap into any pair of cast-off breeches they could lay hands on. The Bosniacs have never abandoned the turban, and cling to it, indeed, with a kind of fanaticism. Their little children alone wear the red cap. may here be remarked that nearly all the Christians of Turkey in Asia, with the exception of the Greeks, who also sometimes wear a handkerchief round their caps, have adopted and preserve the turban, although they are only allowed to use certain colours. as white and black, or red. Green is forbidden them. I say nothing more here about the costumes, more or less picturesque, of the Christians who inhabit the chief part of Turkey in Europe and its dependent provinces. The Greeks, of their own accord. have in many instances adopted the European dress, and get their fashions from Paris.

Whilst the change I have described was taking place in the outward appearance of the Turks, a still more important change was going on in their minds. They lost by degrees that assurance which is the distinctive mark of a conquering race. Their

faith in the eternal duration of their empire faded away. Tradition told them that they were not the legitimate possessors of the lands which they occupied; and now a new tradition made its appearance, coming they knew not whence, to the effect that one day—no distant day—they must be dispossessed, and driven back into the heart of Asia. They have made up their minds to this catastrophe; but if they could intrigue with fate, they would stipulate that their successors should neither be Jews nor European Giaours—above all, not Russians.

CHAPTER VIII.

DRESS OF THE WOMEN.

Hideous Appearance in the Street — Costume in the Harim — Details — Gauze Chemise — Robes — Trousers — Head-dress — Fashions — Jewellery — Domestic Regalia — Pattens and Stockings — Use of Perfume, Unguents — Cosmetics — Cloaks and Veils — Boots — Gadding about — Morality.

When I first went into the East I confess that I was a little disappointed with the appearance of the women in the streets. I confess also, that I was not justified in this disappointment by the impossibility of obtaining accurate information. The truth had often before been clearly stated; but, somehow or another, the influence of poetical description in verse or prose had left a deeper impression upon me than any matter of fact statement. I believe that most persons who have not travelled, or who have not directed their attention particularly to this point,

are in the same predicament. The truth is, that the Turkish women—not having been influenced by the progress of reform-have preserved their ancient costume, and that this costume is the most disagreeable to the eye that can possibly exist. It seems to have been invented for the purpose of disfiguring the female form. The ugly and the awkward are the only gainers. They pass muster with the rest. All cats are grey in the dark. All women concealed under a uniform heap of garments may be supposed lovely. Perhaps, indeed, it is just that the maxim of our law should be applied in this case, and that whoever is not proved to be hideous should be set down as beautiful. At any rate, it is impossible, except for the very knowing, to distinguish in the streets of Stamboul between the young and the old, the Hebe and the hag.

I speak now, of course, of the women only as they appear in the streets, because it is from these that we gain our first impressions. Within the harim the case is different. There the women, as in other countries, have studied the art of pleasing, and from their point of view have brought it to perfection. I shall begin my inventory à penetralibus. The first garment is a shift, with broad sleeves, fastened at the neck, and descending sometimes nearly to the ankles. Rich ladies have this essential article of dress made of silk; but it is more commonly of a coarse kind of gauze, either white, blue, or red. It is said that coquettes in the harim know perfectly well which colour to choose to set off the peculiar beauties of their skin; and the fashions of Tarentum are often adopted. Over the chemise is generally worn a long robe of peculiar shape. The sleeves are short: the skirt is slit before and behind, and on both sides, as high as the hips, so as to form four tails or lappets; the bodice is open, so as to allow whatever beauties may be beneath to be more than divined. Stays are unknown in Turkey, and a peculiar taste presides over the disposition of the bosom, which, at first sight, startles one accustomed to our tight-laced beauties, but which is not without its fascination. A long shawl encircles the loins, and one end hangs down in front in a very graceful man-

ner. It is customary, when the ladies wish to move about easily, for them to tuck up the four tails of their gowns into this said shawl, so as to form very picturesque festoons. I must here hasten to remark that the women not only wear loose drawers, but also spacious trousers, which cover the leg even to the These trousers are fastened round the waist by a running cord, and below the knee by what we may call a garter; so that when the ladies walk about at home, they pull them up, and show their bare legs and naked feet, shoes and stockings being unfashionable for domestic use. I am told that this part of female costume is equally effectual as a protection with the stomachers of Queen Elizabeth's time—for which see the Researches of Mr. Disraeli the elder. The trousers are sometimes made of silk, but generally of cotton-print. Those who can afford it use a kind of velvet, or what is called Damascus satin, which is stiff, and makes a frou-frou as they walk.

The usual head-dress in the harim is a piece of fine lawn, or muslin, generally embroidered, and carelessly thrown over their heads. Sometimes they wear a pretty little turban, or red cap, placed jauntily on the back of their heads. Their hair occasionally flows in loose tresses, but, as a rule, is braided into an infinite number of little plaits, which fall loosely on all sides.

Dressmakers and milliners have a fine time of it in Stamboul. They are never obliged to weary their brains in search of new forms of elegance, or new arrangements of colours. They have to fear the awful criticism of no Hyde Park or Longchamp. Reform has not intrenched upon their grounds. The cuts of the yellek and the anteria remain the same as in the time of Bajazet, and do not differ in the seraglio of the Sultan and the hovel of the Roumelian peasant. It is only by the various qualities of the stuffs employed that variety of ranks is marked. The richer classes—the wives of province-fed pashas are clothed from head to foot in silks, or in stuffs gorgeously embroidered in gold or silver. Costly shawls from Kashmire bind their waists. Ornaments of the precious metals set with jewels-conceived and executed with little taste-are worn either about

the head-dress or on various other parts of the But within the last twenty years this description has ceased to be applicable except to a very limited number of sultanas. Those who possess handsome costumes, or expensive gew-gaws, preserve them as if they constituted a kind of domestic regalia, and exhibit them with pride to their less fortunate friends. It is the custom, indeed, on the occasion of almost every visit, to spread these articles of dress and jewellery upon a table, and the conversation generally consists in nothing but exclamations of real or polite admiration—guarded from the suspicion of envy by pious interjections-which beneficially supply the place of scandal and Women of the middle and lower gossip. classes are content to flaunt about in Manchester calicoes at home.

As I have hinted, most women do not use either shoes or stockings at home. Many go about with naked feet, or use a kind of wooden pattens similar to that which is common among the Levantines, and which is of the same family as the Chioppine, so often alluded to by our dramatic writers. Of late

years coarse stockings have been adopted by some persons.

It may be as well to mention that, partly in obedience to the injunctions of the prophet and partly to those of coquetry, a great quantity of perfume is used by the Turkish ladies. The most costly, and for that reason perhaps the most prized, is the atar of roses. In the baths they make use of a variety of odoriferous oils and unguents, and never consider themselves perfectly bewitching until they have tampered with every part of their They employ many pernicious preparations to whiten their skins; they plant temporary roses in their cheeks; which they further even disfigure with patches. Their eyes are always encircled by a black rim of kohl; their eyebrows are painted black; and if they are not favoured by nature with hair of ebony dye, they produce the appearance in a manner so successful that it would be worth while for Madame Chantal of Paris to purchase their secret. In order to impart a temporary brilliance to their complexions, they torture themselves with a variety of chemical substances, as powder

of the *Iris florentina*. It is well known that they dye their nails and sometimes the palms of their hands of a kind of yellow red with henna. We thus see that the Eastern woman is essentially a made-up being. Let us hope that none of these artifices are ever employed in England.

When ladies go about to public promenades or on visits to their friends, they wrap themselves in long and ample cloaks, which cover them from head to foot. These cloaks, which are of all colours, white, red, or green, sometimes resemble in form the dominoes used in a masked ball, except that they have no sashes, and hang loosely about the person, or are swelled out by the wind as they go. A veil, as I suppose it must be called, though I should be rather inclined to compare it to the Berber litham, is wrapped around the forehead, and envelops likewise the neck and face, like a huge cravat, leaving only the eyes and the bridge of the nose visible. It is impossible to imagine anything more offensive to the eye than this white muffler. The feet of gadding women may be said to wander about in huge slippers, or in ungainly boots, certainly never made to measure. In fine, as I am at a loss for a comparison, I may liken them to hippopotami in disguise. However, any one who has been hustled in an eastern crowd may have had opportunities of ascertaining that these apparent heaps of rags are not quite so formless as the sight leads one to imagine. It is curious to remark, too, the certainty with which an accustomed eye penetrates this disguise. A husband or a lover is rarely mistaken. I have myself been enabled, after a little practice, to recognise Christian ladies with whom I had conversed, and who were to all appearance equally concealed.

I have already mentioned that it is under favour of this uniform that women leave their homes and go out in search of adventure. Instances have occurred in which the police, divining from the hurried step of some muffled beauty on what errand she was abroad, have stopped her to preach prudence and morality; and recommended her to return whence she came. However, as a rule, the ladies who choose to make appointments with people of their own faith are

generally enabled to carry them out. I have sought in vain for any symptoms which might argue an improvement in the relations of the sexes in Turkey. If there be any change, it is for the worse; and no less could have been expected, considering the wide spread of the use of spirituous liquors. I must remark by the way, that the women of many of the Christian races that inhabit Turkey are equally licentious with the Muslimees. The Greeks seem to form an exception, and, in spite of their beauty, history and tradition combine to tell us of wonderful instances of their chastity.

CHAPTER IX.

TURKISH PALACES.

Magnificent Site of Constantinople — Greeks and Turks—
Habitations of the People — Materials and Construction of Houses — Conservatives and Free Trade — Louis
Napoleon — Stroll through the Seraglio — Eastern
Harims — Polygamy — The Chambers of the Sultan
— Their Furniture — Hard Couches — Bug-traps —
Moving-royal — Curious Sight — Mahommed Ali —
European Innovations.

It is so difficult to do justice to the beauty of the site and the magnificence of the outward appearance of Constantinople, that many people in mere despair have begun to depreciate both. I shall not enter on this paradoxical ground. It is of no use to deny that Constantinople occupies a position which might make it the capital of the world, and which justifies the covetous eyes which have always been cast upon it by conquering races. From whatever direction it is viewed, whether

from the brilliant waters of the Propontis, from the cypress-crowned heights of Scutari, from the rushing current of the Bosphorus, or, across the ship-studded basin of the Golden Horn from the portico of the English embassy at Pera,—the City of the Seven Hills, as it catches on its crowd of domes and minarets the glories of the midday sun, seems scarcely the dwelling-place of mortals, but as if it belonged to the romantic geography of some Arabian tale. Well may Europe rouse itself in arms to beat back the modern Attila from this glorious post. If once in possession of the enemy of civilization and liberty, it would soon give barbarian laws to those favoured countries which during three centuries have been struggling up to the position of the University of the World. Science and literature and philosophy and the art of governing men as men, not as beasts of burthen, would ere long be obliged to abandon their half-finished work and take refuge beyond the Atlantic.

If such a catastrophe were ever to overwhelm Europe, it might be considered as the just punishment of the long apathy and in-

difference which has allowed this splendid position to remain provisionally in the hands of a horde of barbarians, who can neither defend it by their own strength nor in any way develop its advantages. I am not disposed to deny the brilliant position which the Ottoman empire once held; but I have no respect for military achievements unless they are used to found institutions and ameliorate the condition of the races which they bring or keep under the sway of a strong government. The Turks have created nothing but their own supremacy, and they have for centuries prevented some of the most intelligent races in Europe from profiting by the results of modern civilization. In spite of them, however, within the last century some of their subjects have instinctively worked out as it were their own character, and prepared themselves for the future. It is impossible to deny, for example, that the Greeks are far superior in every respect, in knowledge and in refinement, to their Osmanli masters; and indeed throughout the whole Rayah population there is a general tendency to progress, in spite of the blighting effects

of an administration which practically has many points of resemblance with that of a corps of banditti.

One of the best methods of gauging the civilization of a country is to examine the nature and the fittings-up of the houses of the various classes of the population. In eastern countries, however, from the vicious nature of the government, the subject races are often much worse lodged than the state of their material prosperity would lead us to suspect. Even the fellah of Egypt could in many cases afford to have much handsomer cottages than he now dares to possess; and until lately all Christians and Jews studied to render the exterior of their habitations as little indicative as possible of the possession of wealth. There are Troglodytes in various parts of the empire. The heights of Gharian, above Tripoli, are covered with subterranean villages, and many of the people of Wallachia dwell in miserable huts, half-buried in the earth. The Servian and Bulgarian peasants are somewhat better off, though their houses generally consist of but one or two large rooms, built upon the ground, without flooring, without chimneys, and with very little furniture. The doors are often so low that it is necessary almost to crawl through them. Even the Turks seldom have a second floor, except in the large towns. In Epirus the Greeks build good houses of solid stone, and most of the towns of Thrace are of brick mixed with beams of wood. The fronts are generally adorned with vines.

The houses of Constantinople are principally built of wood mixed with bricks and They have often several small stones. stories, and the fronts turned towards the narrow streets are extremely picturesque in their irregularity. The ground floor is generally dark and dismal. It contains the cellars, the kitchens, the stables, and sometimes a receiving-apartment. The first story forms the ordinary dwelling-place of the men, and the second of the women. I might enumerate a prodigious number of conveniences which are unknown in Turkey. There are no fireplaces, although the weather is often sufficiently cold to require them, and the women are driven to the unwholesome custom of sitting over the mangala or coal-

pan, the heat of which is prevented from escaping by a carpet wrapped round their lower extremities. I mention this circumstance, because it is the custom for men of conservative minds, who cannot conceive the idea of improvement, to say that the comforts of each country are dictated by their climate, and that it is absurd to lament over the lack of proper clothing, of proper habitations, and other conveniences of life, which exists in some of the southern countries of Europe. If they were wanted, they say, they would be had. We might as well deny the necessity of labouring to improve the condition of the humble classes, because they have so long put up with an inferior degree of comfort to that which is found necessary and agreeable in the upper ranks of society. I was the other day arguing in favour of free trade with a Frenchman, and insisted on the fact that the working and peasant population of France are amongst the worst clothed in Europe. His only answer was, that the French wanted good food, and did not care to be better dressed than they are. Very likely; but there is a wonderful con-

nection between the costume and the development of the mind. A man begins to respect himself when he thinks he looks respectable in the eyes of others. Peter the Great and Mahmoud the Second understood this theory, and their only mistake was, that they endeavoured to accomplish by an imperial fiat what should have been the result of the progress of industry and the development of wants consequent upon wealth. Louis Napoleon, seemingly with the object of catching the popularity which still flies from his grasp, is taking measures to build commodious pens for his newly-acquired flock; but I suspect that he will only alienate the feelings of the householders, without succeeding in improving the condition of the working classes. Five years of free trade would be worth a hundred of imperial philanthropy.

My plan forbids me to enter into complete detail on any department of manners. I shall therefore observe in general, that, as in the case of costume, the furniture of all Turkish houses, high and low, is almost exactly similar, setting aside of course the different qualities of the material. Let us

now take a stroll through the residence of the Sultan; for any European who will pay eight hundred piastres, the price of a firman, after having visited Saint Sophia, and four other of the most renowned mosques, may penetrate into the palace of Byzantium. This palace is situated on the extreme point of the promontory on which Constantinople is built. It is surrounded on the sea side by a vast wall fifty feet in height, protected from the waves by a narrow causeway. The gardens, of which glimpses may be obtained from a distance, contain mosques and bath-houses, and kiosques, and are laid out with as much taste as Turks are capable of. I shall not, however, attempt to describe the mysterious precincts of the seraglio, where a sufficient number of women to supply wives for a large city are confined for the use and pleasure of his majesty. I will observe, however, that a very erroneous impression seems to exist about the manners of Eastern harims. imaginations are disposed to conceive them as a kind of poetical lupanar; but, according to all accounts, they more resemble convents, without the presence of chastity or religion.

Life in them is hum-drum, trivial, and wearisome, or rather it would be wearisome were not the imagination and the intellects of their indwellers sobered almost into nonentity. The wise polygamists seem to feel that they occupy an unnatural position, and take care not to stimulate the fancies or the passions of their houris, who might otherwise break out into rebellion, but who now in many cases pine away, suffering from diseases which Frank doctors, when called in, prudently abstain from explaining. Among the means of restraining female turbulence is the instilling of strong religious bigotry—so much for the mind-and the careful choice of unexciting food and drink-so much for the body. The imprisoned sultanas, not knowing how to read, naturally read no novels—the great destruction of domestic tranquillity in Eu-However, from time to time, the want of artificial stimulants is felt by the apathetic natures thus created; and the coarse means I have already alluded to supply the place of our theatres, our poetry, our fictitious narratives, our balls, our rich dinners, and our generous wines.

But I must not forget that I have undertaken to go along with my readers, and make an inventory of the furniture of the imperial dwelling. Passing from the Sublime Porte, or dwelling of the grand vizier, by the Mosque of St. Sophia, we reach the Bab Humayoun, near which a head or two, belonging to some criminals recently executed, are exhibited as an incitement to virtue. Beyond this, after traversing a great square planted with trees, we find the Bab Esselam, which admits us both into the reception-halls and the private dwelling of the Sultan. Having ascended a broad staircase, we enter a series of immense halls, drawingrooms, or chambers—the name may differ, but the form remains the same—succeeding one another, apparently without end. These apartments are all furnished in a uniform manner. The flooring is of wood - mere common deal, ill laid down, and irregularly joined. The occupants of the upper stories can see all that is going on below; and the Sultan, if he wishes, may overhear the conversations in his kitchens. Round three sides of each room runs a divan, or rather a

second flooring, about a yard wide, and a foot and a half high. Neither in this case is mahogany or rosewood called into request. These beds of oriental luxury—these famous divans—are all made of common white wood. They are covered, however, from one end to the other with mattresses of equal width, housed with canvas or coarse calico, and stuffed with the refuse of flax or hemp, made harder by the constant meglisses of burly Turks than the wood on which it rests. Upon these mattresses are spread others, about an inch in thickness, covered with cotton-print, and stuffed with raw cotton; and over all this a drapery of printed calico, with fringes of cotton or silk, is thrown. A series of pillows of the same material, covered in winter with a kind of velvet manufactured at Broussa, are arranged along the wall.

The floors during summer-time are either quite bare, or spread with Egyptian matting. In cold weather they are replaced by Smyrna carpets. Curtains, white or coloured—still of that everlasting calico, with miserable little fringes of cotton tags—may by a license be said to adorn the windows,

which are always on the fourth side unoccupied by couches. In the two inner corners of the divan very thin mattresses of embroidered silk are placed; and opposite these, upon the floor, are two others of inferior quality, intended for the accommodation of kneeling visitors — Armenian bankers and others—who have sometimes to remain for hours in that degrading posture.

Such is the furniture of an oriental palace -at least of its sitting-rooms and audiencechambers. The bed-rooms are nearly similar; for in them we find no bedsteads, properly so called—that luxury is unknown in Turkey — but one or two thin mattresses thrown upon the floor by the side of the divan, with a bolster or a pillow, and a counterpane or two. These hard couches, which may be a reminiscence of camp life, are disposed of by day in great cupboards made for the purpose. I pause to recollect whether I have omitted any article of furniture in common use among these luxurious orientals, but none presents itself, unless may be excepted one or two coarse wicker baskets, which are scattered empty about the rooms, as bug-traps.

All the palaces of the Sultan are, as a general rule, denuded of furniture, for the only things that remain permanently in them are the coarse canvas mattresses of the divans. When, therefore, his majesty leaves the Winter Palace to go and inhabit some other in a cooler position on the shores of the Bosphorus, it is a curious thing to witness the details of the migration. First and foremost, the women of the seraglio, as the most precious articles of furniture, are huddled into a number of large caiques. Behind them comes, if I may so express it, a caravan of barges, laden with mattresses, pillows, bed-coverings, curtains, kitchen utensils-not forgetting the bug-basketsall heaped together, with slaves and servants, black, white, or parti-coloured, and reminding one rather of a convoy of lousy pilgrims than the passage of the Luminary giving splendour to the Universe of the Firmament of Glory and Dominion, the Sultan of the Sea and Land, the King of Roum, from one habitation to another. The whole kit must

be transferred in a single day, otherwise the prince and his swarm of low-browed beauties,—his Dudus and his Lolahs, to say nothing of his Katinkas and Gulleyaz's,would have to roll uneasily about through the livelong night on couches harder than those of a Spanish posada. This moving-royal takes place at least twice a year,—in the spring and in the autumn. If you happen to be out upon a sail on the chosen day, steer clear, for the sake of etiquette, and according to the counsels of prudence, from the damsel-laden caiques; their neighbourhood may singe you; but shave as closely as you may to the barges piled with the imperial traps, and you will discover that one-half of majesty's furniture at least is old and ragged, and that the whole is covered with splashes and fly-stains, for soap and water are never called into requisition, and bed-ticking is never changed until it falls away of its own accord. In all eastern countries this extraordinary association of attempted splendour with dirt and rags may be observed. Mohammed Ali, pasha of Egypt, was, without exception, the most cleanly and

elegant of eastern princes whom I have seen or heard of. His palace at the Cape of Figs, though somewhat resembling a spruced-up and whitewashed factory or workhouse in its external appearance, was very tastefully arranged within by European upholsterers and cabinet-makers. I am told, however, that the harim always continued to be fitted up in true Turkish style. Abbas Pasha never uses the handsome dwelling-places left him by his grandfather, but builds great palaces of lath and plaster, furnished, or unfurnished for the most part, with true Ottoman simplicity, with here and there expensive and ill-placed ornaments.

Since the reform, some ministers have placed in their apartments at Constantinople European sofas, tables, and straw-bottomed chairs. It was Reschid Pasha who first introduced this custom. However, there is no respectable house in England which is not more comfortably furnished than the palaces of the Sultan and his courtiers; and the ball-dress of a London beauty costs more than the clothing of an entire harim in Turkey.

CHAPTER X.

DINNER AT CONSTANTINOPLE.

Turkish Dishes — Bacon — European Fanaticism — Anecdotes — Travellers — Eating-house — Hotels — Choice of Food—The Great Meal of the Day—Lunch — Grease and Butter — Style of Cookery — Dinner — Knife and Spoon — Order of the Dishes — Etiquette at Table — Masters and Servants — Patriarchal System — Pilau — Dessert — Washing Hands — Coffee — Monopoly — Art of Smoking — Use of Opium — Dinner in the Harim — Curious Idea of Delicacy — Sweetmeats — Luxury among the Middle Classes.

THE Turks are very particular in the choice of their food; but the dishes which delight them are repulsive to most Europeans. I confess to have eaten with pleasure ragouts made in their style, though most travellers turn away from them in disgust. There is, indeed, something to overcome. The old argument, to which I have already alluded, namely, that climate dictates the proper food to be used, is often

brought forward; but as every people included under the Ottoman yoke has a different kind of cookery, it cannot go for much. It is unnecessary to enter into the mystery of pork-eating, and I have not made up my mind whether, in a hygienical point of view, the Turks are right in beginning to feast on the father of bristles. In a religious point of view they are certainly wrong; but the Koran was first issued for the use of races inhabiting very hot countries, where bacon is baneful, whereas the climate of Turkev in Europe is of a totally different character. may observe by the way, that from the principle of opposition inherent in human nature, Europeans make an especial point of eating pig, despite the sun, wherever they go, and produce amongst the Muslims the impression, that as the Koran forbids the use of this meat, so the Gospel must command it. The perseverance with which they persist in using their privilege appears to me absurd, and almost offensive. In Constantinople the foreign ambassadors used formerly to make a joint annual demand of the Porte for permission to pickle pork. It was always

granted without demur, until, on one occasion, a grunter, who objected to be slaughtered, got his leg out of the noose by which they were dragging him along, and, knocking down the faithful before him, more by his sight than his touch, for they scrambled desperately out of his way, took refuge, after running the gauntlet through several bazaars, in one of the mosques. Next year, when the firman was asked for, it was always stipulated that the unclean animals should be killed, or *unsalted*, as Cicero might express it, at the market-place.

There is a race of wild-boars in Egypt, of the flesh of which, though it be insipid, the Europeans, from the perversity to which I have already alluded, are fond. I once saw a cage containing four little ones sent down as a present to an English lady. It was carried through the streets by two great shamed-faced porters, whom a crowd of urchins and idlers followed and hooted. They were so annoyed that they dropped their burthen, and began cursing Christianity, whilst the sucking boars took to flight, pursued by a shower of stones and slippers. I

remember, however, that on one occasion a fine Gratz ham was boiled for our use on board the boat. There were rumours among the crew whilst the caldron was over the fire. They seemed to consider themselves almost as accomplices of a sacrilege. But when the steaming ham was fished out by a hook at the end of a pole, and deposited with respectful contempt upon the dish, the men collected round at a certain distance with expanded nostrils, sniffing in the unholy odour, and one of them, in a moment of gastronomic conviction, exclaimed:—
"Wallah, by G——, how nice it smells! What a pity it is a sin!"

This, however, is a digression which I can scarcely account for. I was going to say that, as a rule, travellers in the remote provinces of the empire are compelled to content themselves on arriving at the caravansarais, or whatever place they put up at, with eggs, or roast mutton. In Constantinople, those who are not able to dine at home are obliged to satisfy their hunger in a very primitive manner. Eating-houses there are none; but many shops exist in

which people eat kababs with their fingers, either standing or squatting in some corner, or, provided the establishment be very fashionable, sitting on benches, before bare wooden tables. More elegant places of refreshment are unknown. At Pera only there are some hotels, and a few furnished houses; but the regular boarders only can dine there. At Galatz there are shops where certain indescribable messes may be found; but no one can venture to enter whose sense of smell is not utterly destroyed. They need no sign nor bush to tell of their whereabouts. You nose them from the other end of the street.

The Turks, like other Muslims, rarely eat game or poultry, or fish, or shell-fish. At any rate, these substances are never brought up entire to table as with us, the art of carving, as well as the instrument thereof, being unknown. He rarely eats smoked meat, sausages, or dried fish, except at the feast of the Little Bairam, on which occasion the air is filled with an intolerable stench proceeding from the tents where stockfish is sold. Few Osmanlis feed on beef or buffalomeat. They are therefore reduced to mutton,

or lamb born at least ninety days, boiled or roasted in little pieces, with poultry cooked so that it can be torn to pieces with the fingers. The vegetables they use are for the most part different from those fashionable with us; as the gourd, the mallow, tomatas, and water-melons. Figs and grapes are the favourite fruit. A dish of rice necessarily forms a part of every meal. Various cheeses, and several kinds of sweetmeats, are added to a repast.

At Constantinople it is customary to take a meal, properly so called, only once a day, that is to say, in the evening, on returning home. During the daytime business people snatch a mouthful, standing in their shops or offices, —a piece of bread and a lump of meat, or a little white cheese very salt, or some kind of fruit, according to the season. At nightfall, however, a copious repast is laid out, consisting of ragouts, almost always flavoured with onions, but sometimes with honey or sugar. In cooking, butter is not used, but beef-grease imported from Wallachia in huge bags of ox-hide, with the hair outside. The Turks prefer this grease to the melted butter

brought from Siberia, both because it is more economical and because it communicates a strong flavour to the ragouts, even when used in very small quantities. However, Siberian butter, which is made from sheep's milk and is imported in skins of that animal, is considered a delicacy by rich Turks, who make their pilaus with it. In some cases it is replaced by melted grease from the tails of Asiatic sheep, which are of immense size, producing as much as twelve pounds of grease apiece. Fresh cows' butter is completely unknown among the natives, and if it is wanted as a medicine, can be found only in the houses of the various ambassadors, who keep a small dairy for the purpose.

All kinds of vegetables are employed in Turkish messes, mixed with small portions of meat. The rules of the composition are a mystery, into which perhaps it would not be prudent to penetrate. Notions of cleanliness and propriety are not very widely spread in the East; at least such is the odious suggestion of wags who undertake to initiate foreigners. For my part, I have always dipped blindfolded into the dishes set before

me; and I must confess that I have often thought myself at least as well served at a Turkish table as I have been at many a European one.

The way in which a dinner is served up is as follows:—a circular tray of copper tinned, and supported on very short wooden legs, is brought into the middle of the room. Plate is unknown. A wooden or horn spoon, with a common knife, placed upon a kind of saucer made of pewter or wood, gives the completest idea of oriental luxury. There are no napkins, but a long towel striped blue and white is hung round the edge of the platter and drawn over the knees of the guest. When every one has taken his place, the major-domo in very great houses, but generally the cook, whose sign of office is an apron hideous with grease-spots, comes in, carrying on his head a great round wooden tray, in the midst of which is the souptureen, whilst around are a number of copper dishes or basins with covers-as many as the tray will hold. This is the first service. The cook sets it down in a corner, and first puts upon the table the tureen, into

which all the guests dip their spoons, which are immediately transferred to their mouths. After this, the ragouts are placed upon the table one by one, and each person with his fingers picks out the morsels which please him best, or dips his bread in the sauce until at a sign from the master of the house the servant takes away the dish. In this way the messes succeed one another to the end; but during the whole time neither spoon nor plates are changed, so that every one by degrees has a pile of bones and fat before him. As I have said, the Turks possess nothing of what we call plate, for table use. Only a few rich people have ewers of silver, and a kind of amphora for handwashing, with trays for bringing in sherbet, or a few vases for aromatics, and some censers in which to burn perfume.

The remainder of each dish is served up in the same manner to any person of inferior rank who may be present, and for whom another table is placed. When these have eaten their fill, the servants take their turn in a distant corner. There is something patriarchal in this system; and it must be

observed that one of the best traits in oriental civilization is the easy relation between master and servant. In travelling they eat together, and in general are regarded rather in the light of children well disciplined, than as men who have sold their services for hire. Domesticity, in fact, is never considered degrading in the East. The young serve the old as a matter of course. Among the Greeks especially this difficult problem of the interchange of services is resolved in an admirable manner. children of poor parents are taken into rich families, and relieved from the sense of degradation by a kind of semi-adoption. What we would call a footman of eighteen is invested with a kind of parental authority over children of ten or twelve; and it often happens that, after performing their duty for a certain number of years in the family of a merchant, they are enabled to set up business on their own account. I have heard persons regret that they had retired from trade before they had been enabled to set afloat the youngest son of a family which had supplied them with a succession of servants.

was until recently the custom in some of the islands for wealthy merchants to send their sons to the houses of friends, where they might learn to perform all the duties of humble life, in the character of servants, even to go to the market and to clean the house. This reminds one of the institution of pages and squires in the best times of the feudal system.

But we are forgetting the Turks in the midst of their meal. Even now the great mass drink nothing but water, and this only after they have finished eating. Those who use brandy generally take it in large quantities before dinner, in order to give them an appetite, and rarely drink during the remainder of the meal. Most good dinners end with a dish which we should place at the commencement—that is to say, the pilau, or rice cooked in grease. The sweet dishes precede this, and afterwards comes the dessert, which consists of a variety of fruit, including sometimes carobs, dates, cocoanuts, and often half-ripe prunes, grapes, and apples.

When the meal is over, basins are brought

round for every guest to wash his hands, which ceremony is performed scrupulously. The servant places the ewer on the ground, or holds it low down, and slowly pours out the water. Every one then returns to the divans, which stretch round the room, and enjoys the delight of smoking and sipping coffee. The latter is brought in in little cups placed in stands of brass or silver, in filigree-work. It is generally very good. The government has reserved to itself a monopoly of roasting and grinding all the coffee used in the capital. A vast building, especially adapted to this work, exists near the Egyptian market, where a great number of men are constantly employed with huge pestles, three or four to one mortar, in pounding the true Mocha, which alone is used. All coffee-house keepers and retail dealers go thither with little leathern bags to get their supplies as they want them. Public opinion maintains that at certain times, instead of true Mocha, the faithful are put off with pounded bricks.

At the same time with the coffee, pipes are presented to the guests. They have

amber mouth-pieces, adorned with diamonds or other precious stones, and are generally made of cherry or jasmine-wood. The bowls are of red clay, carefully baked, and much larger than those used in Egypt, where the art of smoking has been carried to the greatest height. The favourite tobacco of the Turks is almost of a saffron-colour; and this it is that is generally known in Europe. The Latakia, however, used by the more refined Egyptians, is almost as dark as our shag. I have never seen any in Europe. not forget to mention that the after-dinner enjoyment of smoking has been raised to the level of a great luxury by the Turks and Arabs, who wield their pipes with a dignity and delicacy which those who are accustomed to the clay, or even the Havannah, can scarcely conceive.

Many Turks, at various times of the day, resort to the pernicious practice of opium-smoking. There is a class, indeed, which takes its name from the vice, called *theriaki*, whose principal resort is a range of dark little coffee-houses, near the Sulimäniyeh Mosque. Here they may be seen, stretched

in a state of stupid beatitude upon benches. Sometimes they retain to a certain extent the power of motion, but in general they lie about like corpses. It is not uncommon for a son to come at an appointed hour to fetch his father, whom he takes pick-a-back home.

It is scarcely necessary to remind the reader that when strangers, or indeed any persons not strictly belonging to the family are present, the women keep away in their own apartments. If the master of the house wishes to dine in his harim, he must previously send warning to that effect. such occasions he eats with some favourite child, and commonly the wife stands up a little in the rear. The female slaves serve at table in this case, but the wife rarely scruples, if there be the least necessity, to run backwards and forwards to the kitchen. It is her privilege also to pour out water, if her lord be thirsty. I am disposed to think that in most eastern countries, amongst people of all religions, there is some obscure idea that it is indelicate for a woman to be seen introducing food into her mouth. I do not think that I ever succeeded in persuading even my freethinking friend Sitt Madoula to eat in my presence.

The delicacies peculiar to women and children in Turkey consist in a variety of sweetmeats of very bad quality. There is sold also in the streets a kind of cake, made with rice, flour, and water, flavoured with sugar and aromatics. Customers are obliged to eat their shares on the same saucers, and with the same horn spoon, which have been used all day by a long succession of amateurs. The dealer, however, selects each morning a particular corner of his dirty apron whereon to wipe them. In various places, likewise, men may be seen poising on their left arm copper trays covered with a thin layer of red sweetmeat. It is the thick syrup of some fruit well boiled down. In his right hand the dealer flourishes a little tin scoop, and when any one asks for one or two paras' worth, he digs out a certain quantity by guess, and shoves it into the mouth of the economical gourmand, as Mrs. Squeers shoved the brimstone and treacle down the throats of her unfortunate victims. Men. women, and children of various rankstradespeople and mechanics—compete for the precious refreshment; and one pair of lips has no sooner smacked over the scoop, than another is ready to receive it.

CHAPTER XI.

TURKISH PREJUDICES AND RAMAD'HAN.

State of the Provinces — Ramad'han-time — Eating the Olivé — An Illuminated City — Splendid Sight — Contrast — Dirty Streets — Night Occupations — A Conclave of Smokers — Debauchery — A Stranger in the Streets — Insults to Franks — Privileged Colours — Stagnation of Business — Turkish doings in the Country — The Streets of Constantinople — Porters.

I HAVE endeavoured, without trenching on the limits of caricature, to give as complete a picture as I could of the domestic life of the Turks, principally referring to Constantinople. The manners of the dominant race in the provinces are so slightly different, that it is not worth while for my present purpose to enter into any particular details upon them. There, as in the capital, the indolence and apathy of this people would reduce them to be in want of the necessaries of life—to absolute starvation—

if they had not the Christian rayahs to prey upon,—Bulgarian and Greek, who are pillaged under a thousand pretences. As far as I can learn, nearly everything that has been said about the improved relations of the Turk and the people is false. Throughout the whole empire, the representatives of the government look upon the rayahs as their lawful prey. It is worth remembering, however, that as a race, in spite of continued pillage, the Turks remain miserably poor.

Such of the faithful as can contrive in the course of the year to save up any money—the produce of industry or robbery—spend it right royally during the nights of Ramad'han; for their ideas of economy go no further than this, the most distant horizon of their future. The Ramad'han is well known as the Lent of the Turks,—thirty days of fasting by day, and thirty nights of riot. At the setting of the sun, whilst the first boom of the cannon is rolling over the Golden Horn, every true Muslim pops an olive into his mouth. The custom is irrefragable. At Constantinople the ministers sometimes

invite their Christian friends—ambassadors and others—to come and "eat an olive with them;" that is to say, to partake of a kind of collation. The city during this month presents at night a curious spectacle. minarets are illuminated, and, as many of the mosques have two or three or even four of these pinnacles, garlands of lamps of various colours intermixed are swung from one end to the other throughout the entire metropolis and its suburbs; so that the effect produced from a distance is perfectly magical. There cannot, indeed, be imagined any more marvellous spectacle than gleams before the eyes of those who are gliding under sail or oar in their caiques athwart the smooth waters of the port, or farther out in the stream of the Bosphorus; for then the whole illumination far up in the air, and the glittering lights that spangle the fronts of the houses and glow in the kiosques that thrust themselves over the tottering wall, all dropping their reflections in the current, form as it were the outline of a city of fire.

Take care, however, if you would preserve this glorious impression, not to penetrate into the streets either of the city or of Galata, for then all illusion will be destroyed; the broken kaleidoscope is reduced to mere bits of stained glass. Darkness and mud, or darkness and dust, fill the narrow, crooked, steep, and ill-paved streets. Innumerable famished dogs wander about, picking up the fragments which are cast out to them, and which tell them that a feast is toward, howling, barking, and snapping at each other. No breed of dogs in the world is so offensive or so savage. They are a perfect pest, and it is sometimes even dangerous to fall in their way. I am assured that they sometimes devour one another.

The Turks, after having taken their first evening repast, generally sally forth into the streets with a little lantern in their hands, and a pipe, of course, at their lips, to visit some coffee-house, where they may recline on a divan, and sip their mocha with the regular gossips of the place. Sometimes they go a visiting at the houses of friends, who receive them in their salemlik, an apartment separate from that of the women. It is curious to see a collection of bearded old gentlemen

thus assembled under pretence of enjoying one another's society. After the first formal salutations, they generally relapse into complete silence, gravely inhaling the smoke of their pipes, their eyes half-closed, and their whole person in an attitude indicative of the greatest possible indolence. They remind one of a conclave of petrified sages. Now and then, perhaps, a vague desire to communicate a thought stirs within them, but it is long before it bubbles up to the surface in words. Then some deep sounds seem to roll forth without effort, from amidst a beard which remains motionless as marble; but they are rarely sent to their address either by a glance or gesture. Presently, when the last syllable has been clearly enunciated, and the last echo has died away, another attempt at expression may perhaps be made, and through the cloud of smoke which has by this time collected, comes an equally solemn response,—and so the evening wears away; sometimes, I confess, without suggesting any regret for the impertinent loquacity of Europe. This is how matters are managed amongst the best class of Turks. Others spur their phlegmatic natures by means of strong drinks and stimulants adapted to every sense; and the majority of those who can afford it spend the night of Ramad'han in riot and debauchery.

A stranger must take care, in endeavouring to satisfy his curiosity at this picturesque period—for there is picturesqueness, though there is no cleanliness, and little splendournot to push too far into the interior of the quarters inhabited by Turks alone; for if he do so, he will run the risk of being stoned by the lads and ragamuffins, to the tune of "Giaour! Giaour!" A wolf would scarcely excite so much popular indignation. Christian women very seldom venture to go out in the evening, not only during Ramad'hantime but throughout the entire year. Some Europeans, it is true, have ventured to take their wives to enjoy the night promenade of the festival, but, in spite of the protection of the round hat—distinctive sign of a Frank they are sometimes insulted and ill-treated by Turkish women. Similar acts of violence take place even by day. Not three years ago, a friend of mine saw a Turkish beldame

rush at a lady, who was walking with her husband, and, having torn off the green veil which she wore, give her a violent box in the ear. This passed in the twinkling of an eye, before an arm could be raised to interfere. The reason given was that green is a colour reserved for the special use of the emirs, and not to be polluted by infidels. By the way, all rayahs are forbidden to employ vivid colours in their dresses, and scarcely do they obtain permission to wear the more sombre and dull ones.

As we have said, the Turks during Ramad'han-time eat only by night. They often keep open table from the going down of the sun to break of day. Then they snatch a few hours of sleep. The rich, and all those who are employed in public offices, remain in bed till midday, at which time they get up to attend to business. The ministers go to the Porte, remain there a little time, and then return home. During the whole of this period, indeed, business stands almost still. The vapours of the officials not having time to dissipate themselves before evening-fall, they are com-

pletely inaccessible, especially to the rayahs. If these poor people have any affairs to transact with the ministers, so much the worse for them. They must bide until the end of Ramad'han. At Constantinople, nevertheless, since the reform, government has pretended to require activity and energy in its subordinates, in order to throw dust in the eyes of European powers; but in the provinces, far from the critical glances of Franks, where no dissimulation is necessary, where complaints, however loud, may be expressed without even a murmur being heard at head-quarters, where reform is a mere dead letter, business, at this particular period of the year especially, is carried on in a deplorable way. The authorities take no pains to conceal their indifference. The Giaours may be in a hurry; let them wait. They may have merchandise which it is necessary for them to forward; but the slumbers of the police must not be disturbed. In fine, a twelfth of the year is almost entirely lost to business.

During the month of Ramad'han the gates of the city are open all night, to enable the inhabitants of the suburbs to communicate with those within the walls. The streets when it rains are nearly impassable. It requires some cleverness to wade through them. In dry weather, in the bazaars, there is always a thick coating of hard mud, which has been accumulating for years. Imagine what a black porridge is produced by a heavy hurasco! The Turks, in their loose slippers, crawl along like flies over a plate of treacle. We must add to these pleasures of street navigation the number of porters engaged in carrying bales of merchandise from the vessels in the port to the warehouses or shops. No vehicles of any kind are used for this purpose. The bales are borne either on the back of a single man, or, when too ponderous, by several, who grunt as they move in unison, and who seem, by their want of care and politeness, to imagine that they have a right to the monopoly of the streets. It is true these are narrow, so that a party of this kind occupies the whole breadth. When you go out to walk, you rarely return home without some new stain of oil, grease, or tar, upon your clothes; for not only are these accidents rendered inevitable sometimes by the straitness of the thoroughfares, but it is considered a good joke among the porters to ruffle and blot the feathers of a Christian.

CHAPTER XII.

WITNESSES CALLED TO THE BAR.

Admissions of a Friend of Turkey—Salaries of Officials—
Corruption—Firman against Peculation and Luxury—
Decay of the Empire, when begun — Amurath IV. —
Rapid Decline — Sultan himself culpable — Luxurious
Habits of Officials — Turkish Rigals—Parallel with the
Middle Ages — Assembly in the Hall of the Prophet's
Mantle — Sham Reform — Turkish Saying — Treatment of great Officials — Inconvenience of numerous
Executions — The Bowstring and Poison — Mutes —
Heads of Rebels exposed — The Hetaerists — Pyramid
of Skulls — Insurrection in Bulgaria — Albanian Atrocities — Rebellions and Public Opinion.

A WARM partisan of Turkey, who affects at least to be enthusiastic in favour of whatever savours of the Koran—convinced though he be of the possibility of casting the members of this decrepit empire into the Medean caldron of reform,—has forgotten himself once or twice, and has raised a corner of the veil which hides from the eyes of Europeans the

corruption of the Osmanlis. He has given a picture which I shall reproduce as a testimony which can scarcely be gainsaid. (It is the evidence of an accomplice-Queen's evidence against Turkey.) Among the causes of the corruption which he admits, he mentions the great number of free servants or slaves which are found about the houses of both great and small, and the immense disproportion that exists between the salaries of persons employed by the government in inferior situations and that of those in superior ones. "There does not exist, perhaps," says he, "any country in which there is so great a discrepancy in this respect. The disproportion is perfectly absurd. The state is prodigal in the case of its great servants and parsimonious in that of its humble ones. In both ways it injures itself. For example, a clerk in the custom-house or in the arsenal, occupying the fifth rank, is obliged to be contented with a salary of one pound or twenty-five shillings per month, whilst the head clerk, occupying a third or second rank, receives from forty to fifty pounds a month. The former, therefore,

in order to make up the number of piastres which are absolutely necessary to enable him to live, will sell himself, and allow the state to be injured to any amount. In the same way, in the army, a general receives per month a hundred and forty-five pounds, whilst a colonel gets only fourteen, and a captain not three! Such inequalities constitute a danger to public morality, and destroy the respect which the institutions of the country should excite. They corrupt," so proceeds this honest pamphleteer, "the superior, degrade the inferior, and lower authority in the eyes of the nation. A lieutenant is not ashamed to fill his colonel's pipe; a colonel performs the same office for his general. An effendi of inferior rank acts without scruple as the valet of his superior; and it may well be supposed that the latter will not shrink from whatever is necessary to satisfy the requirements of a luxury for which the emoluments of his place serve as a pretext, whilst they cannot enable him to meet the expense. The scandalous gains of the Iltizam, the trafficking in justice which has become almost proverbial—the shameful practice of receiving presents, which is tolerated amongst no civilized people, all these abuses, which the reform has been hitherto impotent to upset, may be best appreciated from an attentive perusal of an official document or firman, published in 1850, in which it is said:—

"' We published some time ago, a long article on the deplorable consequences of peculation and corruption; and we desired to put an end to such disastrous things by compelling all functionaries employed under us to take a public oath; and we hoped that this obligation, together with the pains and penalties which necessarily accrue, would prove an efficacious remedy against the evil of which we complain. We are sorry to see, however, that our paternal remonstrances and our salutary reprimands have not borne fruit, and that we are obliged to repeat them with reference to facts which have recently come under our notice. It is well known that many times certain persons have abdicated their dignity in favour of peculation, in order to suffice for the extraordinary expenses which they have created for

themselves in objects of luxury, and are compelled therefore to deprive themselves of what is necessary in order to procure that which is superfluous. It is most evident that such a conduct is condemned both by the provisions of the law and by common sense. Its necessary consequence is, that those who follow it overpass the bounds which the amount of their fortunes would permit, and thus arrive at the goal of universal dishonour. Far from perceiving these unfortunate consequences, they have become accustomed to make use of very costly furniture, and of objects of luxury perfectly unproductive. They imagine that they are obliged to procure these and to make use of them, on account of the rank which they occupy, and console themselves in the delusive hope that they will thereby win the esteem of the public, whilst, on the contrary, in order to meet these ruinous expenses, they are reduced to the necessity of compromising their characters by disgraceful acts and malversations. Now, is it not evident that the brilliancy of the rank occupied by our functionaries, according to the grades and the

decorations which have been conferred upon them by the imperial magnificence, nowise requires to be enhanced by vain luxury, and that the only means of doing honour to it is by a scrupulous fidelity towards the sovereign, and a constant observation of duty? This is why we recommend the functionaries of the empire to establish a prudent and moderate equilibrium in their personal expenses, so long as they do not possess any other revenue than their salary, to meet extraordinary expenses; and we warn them that they will thereby gain much in the precious esteem of his imperial majesty, and that on the contrary, those who persist in creating for themselves immoderate expenses will entirely lose his confidence."

The imperial firman on the moderation of luxury above given, originated in a proposition of the Council of State. The Hatti-Sherif of Gulhane had already sharply blamed the same abuses, together with many others. "We shall endeavour," it said, "firmly to establish, by means of a severe law, the complete cessation for the future of the shameful custom of Richvets, which is

one of the principal causes of the destruction of the empire, and which the law already In truth, the evil here pointed condemns." out—the reception of "Richvets" or presents made from an inferior to a superior, in order to purchase his goodwill, had already attracted considerable attention many years before. The following is an extract from a memoir presented to Amurath IV. by his vizier, about sixty years after the death of the great Suliman, at which date, according to the Ottoman writers themselves, the first symptoms of the decay of the empire appeared:-"When there are five or six competitors for a Kadilik, they are examined, and according to canoons (customs or laws), the preference should be given to the most wise, the most learned; but very often the Casiasker gives the place to the solicitations or influence of private persons, without any reference to merit, dismissing those who do not offer a sufficient present." Further on, the vizier represents to the emperor in a tone of sadness the venality which had introduced itself among the Moulazim, the exactions of the governors, the abuses of power that daily

took place, the corruption that pervaded the whole empire; but it was all in vain. that time forward the evil went on increasing. The disease had got into the constitution. It was impossible to eradicate it. Palliatives might be applied; symptoms might be destroyed; a false appearance of health might be produced—the flush of fever—but the inevitable fate of empires had at length overtaken Turkey, and it would long ago have fallen, had it not been sustained by other powers than its own. Accordingly we find. as has been seen, the great reforming Sultan Mahmoud repeating the complaints of Amurath's vizier in a bitter tone, and the youthful Abd-ul-Mejid taking up the same burthen. But there is scarcely any longer a meaning attached to these complaining words. The Sultan has been the first to break the rules he has himself laid down, and it has been by munificent Richvets that the Egyptian viceroy, against the fundamental laws of the Turkish empire, against the positive promises and engagements of the Sultan himself, purchased the right of life and death over his subjects.

"Among the habits," says the writer above quoted, "contracted by rich private people and by the high functionaries in Turkey, which absorb more than their revenue, we must count not only the luxury of their equipages and of their horses, against which the general ordinances given were launched, but also the excessive number of servants, which is common, it is true, to all Oriental countries; but which a state like Turkey, aspiring to constitute itself on an European model, should repudiate as an obstacle to moral reform, and a cause of material ruin. At Constantinople the number of free domestics, independently of the fifty-two thousand slaves that are kept, reaches the number of at least forty thousand, and constitutes, therefore, a third of the whole Muslim population. A functionary of the second rank, occupying a position corresponding to that of a chief clerk in a public office, and whose salary is about 80,000 piastres (£680) per annum, has not less than ten servants in his house, both free and slave. The keep of these ten servants, calculated only at 20,000 piastres, amounts to a quarter of the whole income. If from the house of an effendi of the second rank we pass to that of a dignitary a degree higher, or a moushyr, the progression increases, and it is no longer by tens but by hundreds that we must count the number of slaves and domestics attached to his service. Nothing answers so well to the idea which we form of the existence of a feudal lord in his castle in the middle ages, as the life led by a Turkish rigal in his Konak or in his Yeli. He keeps a table always spread [with bread and cheese, or such-like simplicities] for all comers; crowds of domestics encumber the court, the staircases, the ante-chamber, living at the expense of the master, and preying upon his guests. It is the same prodigality as in the olden time, the same carelessness, the same waste. The want of the presence of women is also felt on all sides; and as the barons of the middle ages had no scruple about supplying themselves for the expenses of their castle by pillaging Jews or travelling merchants, or by making forays on the lands of their neighbours, so the pasha appointed to govern a province, or a

high functionary of the Porte, to repair the breaches made in his revenue by his extravagance, or when he is hard pressed by his saraf, grinds his subjects, or shamefully traffics in the places and other favours, of which he has the disposal. Hence arise those scandalous scenes which are unknown in other countries, and of which the capital and the provinces present each day the afflicting spectacle.

"When the evil has become, so to speak, general, and a chorus of complaints arises on all sides, and reaches the ears of the Porte, the Porte bestirs itself, and an imperial ordinance, like that of which we have above seen the preamble, is issued to remind the delinquents of the laws, and to revive the ancient regulations against luxury in horses, harness, carriages, caiques, &c. In other cases a firman calls together to Constantinople all the governors of the provinces and unites them in the presence of the Sultan, together with the principal dignitaries of the empire, in the Hall of the Mantle of the Prophet, where a secretary reads to them in a loud voice the Hatti-Sherifs which have been issued, forbidding

under the severest penalties all abuses of power; and also the articles of the code of 1840, in which all these sins are enumerated. This interesting lecture terminated, the assembled functionaries are compelled to repeat one after the other, upon the Koran, and upon the sacred relic preserved in that hall, the oaths, which they have twenty times repeated and twenty times violated, to faithfully observe the laws. The days and weeks begin to glide by once more, months elapse, fear begins to die away on one hand. whilst on the other the severity of the surveillance relaxes, the oath is again forgotten, the new regulations, applied at first with a certain amount of rigour, fall into their accustomed disuse, and everything at length returns into the order, or rather the disorder, which had previously reigned."

Such is the picture drawn by Mr. Ubicini, who believes in the possibility of Turkish regeneration, and who wilfully perhaps forgets the proverb which is current amongst his favourite people, to the effect that the riches of the state are an ocean, and that he who does not drink thereof is a hog!

As I am calling witnesses to the bar, I may invoke the testimony of a writer who has published since the accession of Abd-ul-Mejid. He is in general highly favourable to the Turks, and inclined to be severe on all who criticise them. We are upon the subject of abuses of administration. Let us read the following naïve account of how, in these times of progress, the government carries on its intercourse with its great officials. These things have been noticed in such old books, and are so often suppressed in books of travels, that the public seem inclined to believe them to belong entirely to the domain of M. Von Hammer.

"In the last years of his life," says M. Ami Boué, "the late Sultan (Mahmoud) at length opened his eyes to the great inconvenience of immolating almost without ceasing his most remarkable officials. He found that he would at length find himself alone in company with mere ignoramuses, and that he was only doing pleasure to foreigners by destroying the few men capable of opposing them. For these excellent reasons he limited considerably the number of secret or public

executions of pashas and great people found to be guilty, or removed from his confidence by intrigues. Decapitations and imprisonments became much rarer, were replaced by exile, or a pension, to be spent in a given place. [Many criminals would not complain of this substitution.] The rebels of Asia are exiled to Europe, and those of Europe to Asia. The Sultan even pushed his clemency so far as to replace rebels in other governments. However, facts which have latterly occurred show that the custom has not been entirely abandoned, of terminating without judgment the lives of certain public men-by declaring them, for example, if pashas, Enage Firmanli, and sending them, politely, a messenger with the fatal firman in his pocket, plus a good cord; or, if they have formerly been favourites of the Sultan, a small dose of poison. To compensate for the dangers to which these messengers are exposed, they are never punished with death. Nor has the Sultan quite given up the use of the mutes called Dalsis for very secret executions. The custom also is preserved of sending to his highness the heads of rebels salted and packed in straw, or else their ears; and these sad trophies are exposed for three days at the gates of the Seraglio."

This is the favourable representation of a friend of Turkey, who endeavours, a little further on, to justify the cruelties formerly practised against Hetaerists. He says, that as the Turks have no police—he means no secret police—they are obliged to have recourse to torture as the only legal means of arriving at truth. In the case of the Hetaerists, these brutal means "not producing any revelations, the Ottomans," says M. Boué, "finding it impossible to discover the truth, fell into a fury upon all the Christians, devoting them all to death, after the manner of savages."

Apropos of the punishment of rebels, I shall extract a passage from M. Blanqui, which well paints the character of the Turks, which has not changed since the time of which he speaks—"Before entering the walls of Nissa we were saddened by the sight of a hideous monument, characteristic of the social state of the country. It was a qandrangular pyramid, incrusted with two

or three thousand skulls of Servian Christians, who fell in a combat against the Turks in 1816, and of which Muslim fanaticism has made a barbarous trophy. The four sides of the monument are covered like a mosaic with many thousands of skulls, set into the walls from the base to the summit. The piety of the Bulgarians has removed many hundreds to give them burial, but there still remains a great number (1841), to which are attached locks of hair, which the wind shakes as it passes. This is a triumphal column of cannibals; and it is impossible not to be seized with horror at its sight. I respectfully saluted these spoils of Christians, who had died for their country and their religion. A day may perhaps come when on the very place where now are seen their desecrated remains, emancipated Bulgaria may raise a temple to their memory."

About the time when this was written, twelve years ago,-after the publication of the Hatti-Sherif of Gulhane throughout the whole country which this dismal pyramid overlooked, every species of cruelty was perpetrated by hordes of savage Albanians let

loose upon the country, in order to compel the unhappy Bulgarians to pay the taxes which they had refused, from sheer inability to raise the necessary money. The fact was, they had already paid them, but as receipts were refused, the collectors had it in their power to make them contribute two or three The furious conduct of the times over. Arnaouts on this occasion must be remembered by most of my readers. They soon succeeded in goading the country into a rebellion, which was of course suppressed, and which was used as a kind of justification for post-dated atrocities. The Turkish government at this time pretended to regret what had taken place, but its regrets were useless, if not hypocritical. Practically the old system of insolent extortion was carried on. Rayahs were compelled to drag themselves towards Turkish officials on their knees; and it was thought quite natural to harness Christians to carriages when beasts of burden were wanting.

Perhaps it is useless to accumulate instances of horrors committed during the suppression of insurrections in Turkey, which,

by the way, are generally mere unexpected outbreaks caused by more than usually violent oppression. Massacres and executions are at once resorted to. Sometimes the bones of the accused are broken one after the other by blows of a hammer; other wretches are hurled against iron spokes; others are torn by red-hot pincers. seems, however, to be admitted in a great many quarters, that people who are possessed, or covetous of power, may commit almost any atrocity to maintain or acquire it; whilst excessive virtue and humanity are expected only from those who may be goaded into resistance by these atrocities. Even in England we find whole classes to approve tacitly or otherwise of slaughter and villany, provided they be used on the side of authority, whilst a rebel cannot raise his hand without being stigmatized as an assassin.

CHAPTER XIII.

ISLAMISM AT WORK.

Deserted Plains of Turkey — Oppression in Bulgaria —
Desolation of Thrace—Melancholy Scenes — Advocates
of Mahommedanism — Character of that Religion —
Bigotry — The Good and the Bad — Doctrine of Fatality — Turks not found in Turkey — Statistics —
Fraud of the Porte — Rise of Greek Civilization.

WE have but to cast a glance over the vast provinces which stretch from the banks of the Danube to the limits of constitutional Greece, to see the natural results of the system I have described carried on by a people so brutal and barbarous as the Turks. These provinces do not contain one quarter of the population they are capable of supporting, and, unlike other countries, the plains are almost desert, whilst the mountains and a few large cities contain the chief part of the inhabitants. Whereever there is a centre of Turkish authority

established, a wilderness is at once created around. The greater portion of the Bulgarian population is dispersed in villages far from the high roads, and a wholesome terror, as I have hinted in the previous chapter, is from time to time struck into them by invasions of armed tax-gatherers. Nothing can be more melancholy than a journey southward from the Danube towards Constantinople. The Bulgarians are naturally a mild and good people, but, as is well known, they have more than once been goaded by excessive oppression into rebellion. have always been punished by bloody massacres, but are ever ready to break out again, and could they obtain any assistance either in men or arms, and could they be assured of the forced neutrality of Austria and Russia, would soon free themselves. It is said, however, that they are wise enough to prefer remaining for a while under the barbarous yoke of the Turks, which is ill fitted to their necks, to passing under the more steady and more overwhelming tyranny of Russia. Any middle course, however, that could be offered to them would be eagerly seized.

If we traverse the Balkan range, and enter upon the vast plains of Thrace, the deserts become naturally more dismal than ever. We are approaching the capital. Adrianople is surrounded by vast expanses covered with cemeteries, and the whole country between that city and Constantinople seems as if it had been just visited by a pestilence. It consists of a vast undulating plain, entirely denuded of trees, and cut up by numerous streams of water, which were once bordered by flourishing towns and fields. Now and then a miserable hamlet occurs; but there are places in which during twelve hours of hard marching there is not a house visible, not a tree, not a shrub. "Between Adrianople and Khassa," says M. Blanqui, "I saw nothing but cemeteries; between Khassa and Eski-Baba stretches an immense plain, silent and lugubrious; between Eski-Baba and Chatal-Bourgas still there was plain and desert; and still desert and plain between Chatal-Bourgas and Karishtiran." other part of the world can such a tract of country be found between two capitals. It is rendered still more melancholy than it

otherwise would be, by the presence of innumerable cemeteries whitening the plain, whilst no dwelling-places rise beside them. Whence came the population of these cities of the dead? Who quarried out those thousands of tumular stones? There is no one to tell. Sadder still it is to meet, as the traveller does at various points, with villages which give a promise of hospitality from a distance, but which, when we draw nigh, are found to be tenanted only by rats, and owls, and bats. Misery or the plague has done its work completely. "These villages," continues M. Blanqui, "are surrounded by a fertile soil; everywhere there were shining streams and a pure sky spread above. What has transformed this fertile champaign of Thrace into a desolate steppe—what but Muslim barbarity? The mosque alone remains erect in the midst of the ruins it has made. The minarets are always bright and the Imams well endowed, whilst desolation and death hold their sway around."

Many persons, from some inconceivable bias of mind, have taken up the defence of Mahommedanism, and endeavoured to repre-

sent it as a mild and beneficent form of faith, that can be advantageously compared with Christianity. The moral doctrines which it has borrowed from the Gospel are often detached in this argument from the theory of sensuality with which they are unaccountably mixed. Certainly Mahommedanism, like every other religion, endeavours to cultivate the virtues, without which society could not hold together. It lays great stress on the respect due to parents, on the duty of charity, and exacts from its followers a good deal of self-abnegation. It would be stupid bigotry to deny that these lessons have produced their fruit in many cases. We meet, accordingly, with Muslims whose goodness and virtue cannot be surpassed; and amongst them no order has risen which has endeavoured to acquire authority by the sacrifice of every moral principle. But, on the other hand, this religion, at the best of times, has taught two or three opinions which human nature is disposed more easily to accept than any precepts of morality. It has encouraged by the prospect of eternal reward the tendency which we all feel to force our belief

upon others, to despise and hate those who differ from us, and to look upon ourselves as the sole proprietors of paradise. It is these opinions which have created the distinctive characteristics of the Muslim, which have moulded his history, and which have rendered it impossible for him to coexist with any other race holding different religious Let us confess the truth sentiments. amongst themselves, in all places where there are no infidels to oppress, the Muslims are by no means hateful in their conduct; but when they are called upon to act as a dominant race, they are beyond measure violent and brutal.

I have heard of attempts made to palliate the evil effects of the doctrine of Fatality, which is the central one of Mahommedan philosophy and religion. If it be desirable that men should pass through life with the want of foresight of beasts; that they should nurse themselves in stupid confidence in external assistance; that they should rely on anything but their own exertions; that they should look blindfolded as it were towards the future; we may admit the utility of this

doctrine. It certainly relieves the Muslim from many of the anxieties which torment us, and enables him to pass through life, whatever varieties of ill-fortune may occasionally disturb him, in a sort of animal felicity. If the storm finds him without a shelter, he forgets his sufferings as soon as he has dried himself in the sun. For my part, however, I see no beauty in this state of apathy, and have no desire to taste of this moral opium. Let us suffer all that we are placed here to suffer, without seeking for consolation in the deadening of our faculties and the numbing of our sentiments. There is nothing to be envied in Turkish civilization that ought not to be produced in a better and more cheerful form by our Faith.

The events of the last few months have fixed upon the public mind a fact which we are often disposed to forget—namely, that Turkey is not inhabited by Turks. They do not number much above a million in Europe, if indeed they reach that number. There are nearly four millions of Christians in the protected provinces of Wallachia and Moldavia; and the remainder of the fifteen

millions, setting aside the Albanians and other Muslim races inhabiting provinces apart, are composed of various kinds of Christians, principally Greeks and Bulgarians. There is a dispute as to the numerical strength of the Greeks. Since the declaration of the independence of Greece Proper, the Turkish government has constantly laboured to diminish the importance of this part of its subjects. Not foreseeing that Russia would take advantage of the fraud, and claim all the rest of its subjects as Slavonians, the Porte represents the number of the Greeks to be not more than a million, and this absurd statement has passed without examination into many geographical accounts. Besides a vast population at Constantinople, I am persuaded that there are very nearly three million Greek souls spread through towns and villages from Varna to Constantinople, along the shores of the Sea of Marmora, in Thrace, Macedonia, Thessaly, and Epirus. However, all the statements that have been put forward on the various numbers of the population of Turkey in Europe are founded on guess-work. The

approximation I make has, perhaps, the best grounds, because it is based on the returns made of the numbers of heads of families to the Patriarch of Constantinople.

I may add, that the only civilization which is rising up in Turkey, in spite of the efforts made to repress it, is that of the Greeks. Their language, too, is the language of business and intercourse. Even the Bulgarians often make use of it; and when they learn to read and write, do not do so in their own dialect, but in that of the Greeks. It is true that there is a strong antipathy of race between these two great families,—a tradition of their former struggles. The Greek, too, naturally overbearing and exclusive. However, there exists the strong bond of unity of religion; and I have no doubt that fear of external danger, and community of interests, would enable these two races to live in tolerably good harmony.

CHAPTER XIV.

THE TURKS AND THE CHRISTIANS.

Corruption as well as Barbarism — Vices — Negative Praise — Supposed Improvement in the Treatment of the Christians — Reminiscences — The Greek Girl — Arbitrary Power — A Murdering Pasha — The Turks in Wallachia — Tardy Reformation.

I no not pretend to give anything like a complete account of the manners of the Ottoman empire, but merely enough to mark the position of the governing class in the scale of nations. It is evident that the condition and customs I have described cannot be said to belong to a civilized people. I wish I could discover simplicity by the side of barbarism. There is always hope of an uncorrupted people, however limited may be their knowledge, and however coarse their habits. The Turks, however, are not only barbarous, but are infected with vices, the

very thought of which excites unmitigated condemnation. I will not dwell too much on this allusion, because it would then seem a paradox to repeat that they have many patriarchal virtues, which would make me regretful to see them exterminated. In another and more limited sphere they may yet learn to hold a respectable position in the world.

The great danger is, that in case any steps he taken to assist the inevitable elevation of the Christian races, these latter, themselves yet unexperienced and raw in politics, may forget the interests of their future in a desire of vengeance against their old oppressors. It is the custom among certain speculators to magnify the Turks in the character of a governing class; and it has been imputed as praise to them that they have never attempted utterly to extirpate their Christian subjects. Had they done so, they would have exhibited a degree of stupidity which could only have been rivalled by a Ferdinand or a Louis XIV.—if I may not allude to the recent attempt to transport a whole political party, which had acquired the obnoxiousness of a sect, from the French territory. The Turks never laid down any general plan of persecution; but in detail, and as individuals, they have been guilty of cruelty and violence, which will never be forgotten, until some great pestilence destroys the memory of the Rayahs, or until unexpected release preaches forgiveness to them.

It is easy to say that of late the direct oppression of the Christians has been removed. Even if this were the case, we have no right to be surprised at vengeance exercised at the earliest opportunity. Human nature is so made. Weak kings and expiring races have always suffered for the sins of their forefathers. I do not like to accumulate horrors; and I will therefore mention only a very mild instance of the kind of behaviour by which the Turks have imprinted a lasting hatred in the minds of their Greek subjects.

A friend of mine had a beautiful sister, whose reputation spread throughout the country. The Pasha of the district happening to pass by and see her going to a well for water, determined to possess her. He did not venture on violence in the first instance, because his attendants were few; but on his

return to his palace sent a trusty servant to keep watch and endeavour to carry away the girl by surprise. Luckily some one betrayed, purposely or otherwise, these designs to the parents, who immediately, there being no other way of escape, took measures to hide their daughter. They did so with success; but for three years the poor girl was passed from house to house in the mountains, disguised as a boy, and not even her own brothers knew in the morning where she was to sleep at night. At the end of this time she was married, and the pursuit ceased; for in that place married women were seldom molested. Few families are without some tradition of this kind; and it is impossible that. among a people like the Greeks, a habit of vindictiveness has not been created. We may hope, however, that in case of a new revolution the terrible popular executions that once took place will not be repeated.

Among the people of every race there are similar motives to hatred and vengeance spread. Even if the Turks were not naturally brutal, the system of administration adopted in the empire,—by which every official is

made a sultan over those below him, would excite them to cruelty. The possession of arbitrary power seems to degrade man to a level with the beast. Emperors and slave-drivers, who may have smiled the smile of angels on their mother's bosom, soon degenerate into ferocity, when the sceptre or the lash is put into their hands. Why should we wonder, then, that a bull-necked, lowbrowed Turk, invested with the koorbash and scimitar, and specially charged with the task of acting as a kind of chronic Verres to his province, should succeed in galling everlastingly the feelings of the people placed under him? I remember an instance of the extent to which a Pasha, quite débonnaire in his dealings with most people, was led by a momentary impulse of avarice. There was in one of the provincial capitals a man, whose reputation for probity was established on long experience, and who was intrusted by merchants, ladies, and others, with jewels for sale, without receipt of any kind. This fact came to the ears of the governor,—the amiable functionary I have alluded to,-and as the jewel-dealer was passing beneath his

window one day, he beckoned him in, and asked him what he had with him. It happened that he had only a few coral necklaces and a large pearl. This was not worth while. He was told to come next day; and in the mean time he went from house to house amongst people whom he knew, gathering a good stock. Every one could prove the delivery of the jewels, and every one was sure of the honesty of the agent. He disappeared, however, and the report soon spread through the city that he had been murdered. Presently one, and then another person, and so on, came forward to say that he had been seen to enter the pasha's palace; and indeed his corpse was found on the banks of the river, a few yards below. Of the jewels, however, there was no news. Public opinion accused the pasha; and the European representatives took up the matter. Their interference was effectual in one respect—the murderer restored some of the jewels with a shrug; but there was no proper inquiry, and of course no punishment.

The inhabitants of Wallachia will long remember the presence of the Turkish troops

before their last retreat. Scarcely a morning came that some young boy, or girl, was not found slaughtered outside the gates; and it is difficult to explain the reason to any one who is not intimately acquainted with the abominable character and prejudices of the worst class of Turks. When the army retreated, the bodies of several hundred Christian women were found in a wood on their line of march. They had taken them away as temporary mistresses, and had deliberately cut their throats, that they might not return to the embraces of Giaours.

But these are old stories. Be it so. Let us hope that similar things will not occur again, although I see no reason why national character should change in a decade of years, without the aid even of religious or political enthusiasm. The Turkish functionaries in Egypt often commit acts of most atrocious barbarity. Similar reports come from Syria, and indeed from every part of the empire instances could be collected if required. I do not wish, however, to revive old animosities. My object is rather to indicate some of the difficulties which will

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beset the path of the statesman who shall endeavour to settle the Eastern question once for all. These difficulties can be, and must be, overcome; for it is absurd to suppose that the exigences of the future can be satisfied by any tardy firman wrung from the fears of the Porte, and which, when the storm is blown over, may be allowed to drop into oblivion, as nearly all other firmans are.

CHAPTER XV.

RIGHTS AND IMMUNITIES OF CHRISTIANS.

Lord Redcliffe and Reschid Pasha — The Policy of the Porte — State of Turkish Opinion — Poltroonery of Certain Classes — Acts of Tyranny — Machiavellism of the Porte — Municipal Government of the Greeks — Mode of raising Taxes — Anecdote of a Butcher — A Petty Tyrant — Attempts to obtain Redress — Ali Pasha and Reschid Pasha — Justice — Bequests for Schools in Greece — A Curious Legacy — Foundation of Colleges — Rise of an Hellenic Theory and Party.

This is not the first time that it has been proposed to give rights and immunities to the Christians of Turkey. There was once a talk of granting them what was called political enfranchisement. But to bring about such a change, it would be necessary to operate a complete change in the character, the ideas, and the very nature of the Turks. Lord Redcliffe had once a conversation on this subject with Reschid Pasha, and recommended the adoption of some such plan; but

the answer was, that to give political rights to the Christians would be a complete abdication on the part of the Turks. "For in the first place," said he, "the Mahommedans are in an enormous minority-the Christians are three times as numerous; and not only are they superior in number but in riches and intelligence. If we were to comply, very soon, instead of having a Sultan named Hassan or Mahmoud, we should have one named Paul or Peter." must be admitted that there was great truth in this answer. The Christian population are superior in every respect to their oppressors the Turks. The future belongs to them. The whole constitution of their long subject society prepares them to be the heirs of the race, which, though decrepit, is yet unwilling to die. They will necessarily take the place of the Turks in a given time; but the idea that any amalgamation of the two races is possible, arises from complete ignorance of the nature and character of the Turks. A Turk now, as heretofore, though he may be in the meanest and most miserable condition. though he may have nothing to boast of,

neither science, nor morality, nor riches, nor social position of any kind, believes himself to be infinitely superior to the brightest ornaments of European nations, and justified in treating them with the most profound contempt. And not only so, but, in spite of the reform and of all the new ideas which are said to have been spreading, every true believer imagines it to be his right and duty to kill a Christian if he can do it without punishment. There is no possibility that his mind should ever be troubled with remorse on this subject. He considers the act as a kind of passport to heaven. He may kill ten Christians and one dog-he will regret the dog, but not the Christians.

I have observed a tendency in some idle minds to avoid the agonies of indignation against powerful tyranny by affecting to disbelieve in its existence. The evidences are before them; but they imagine that, if they acknowledge it, some duty may devolve upon them, and they must avoid at any price all action, both intellectual and physical. Many persons, not at all by nature base or wicked, have thus become tacit accomplices in the

coup d'état of the 2nd of December; and nearly the whole of Europe seems to have exhausted its hatred of the Turks in 1829, and to have been ever since employed in persuading itself that their nature suddenly changed by the destruction of their fleet. As I have hinted, people were afraid of being called upon for sympathy with the Greeks north of Thermopylæ; and so by many their very existence was forgotten or denied, and the Turks have until now been allowed to spoliate them as they pleased; and not only so, but have found apologists and admirers to justify them at the bar of public opinion.

With the exception of an occasional predatory invasion of Albanians, or the caprices of a drunken Turk, pasha or kavas, perhaps the Greeks are not now subject to the danger of massacre; and rapes may be less common than of yore. However, it is extreme ignorance to suppose, as some do, that the Christian population of Turkey are, like our Irishmen, without any but hereditary causes of hatred. They are subject to actual oppression day by day throughout the empire. The Greeks, by the force of their character and many other

reasons, are enabled to protect themselves to a certain extent, it is true; but the Ottoman government has studied Machiavelli, and, following the example set by the Russians in their treatment of the Poles, makes Greek meet Greek in the struggle of oppression.

A very recent instance, derived from the domestic history of a district in Epirus, will be worth fifty general observations. I will remind the reader, in the first place, that all the Greeks in the Turkish provinces are to a certain extent self-governing. Their masters only make their presence felt by occasional administrative forays amongst them. They have a very distinct municipal government, very admirably organized. This alone it is that has enabled them to oppose a kind of passive resistance to their conquerors throughout so many ages. They would otherwise have been long ago effaced. The position of the Greek communities very much resembles at this present time that of the Towns in the middle ages, on the eve of their emancipation. They have formed a new national feeling, very strong and vigorous, which will some day bear good fruit. There is

something patriarchal in the way in which business among them is conducted. great affair of course is to fix the quota which each inhabitant must pay towards the tribute exacted by the Turks. Throughout the Ottoman empire the system is to make the people tax themselves wherever that is possible. In Egypt the Sheikh-el-Beled batoons the money out of his parishioners, who are like Big in the play, and require to be kicked and cuffed for the satisfaction of their honour, before they will disburse. Greeks are more wise. They meet together every year in a kind of committee of ways and means. The primates discuss and define the share which each is to contribute. Matters are settled amicably; for the amount of each fortune is known. Few quarrels arise, though every inhabitant may if he please join in the discussion. Democracy has ever worked out with the Greek race, and they may yet apply it on a more splendid scale than ever.

It is the custom, when the amount that each person is to contribute is settled for the year, to sell the contribution to some speculator, who advances the money and repays himself with profit by instalments. In this way the demands of the government are promptly complied with, and no excuse is left for applying the kind of punishment which is always inflicted on refractory tax-payers—namely, billeting troops upon them.

To return, however, to my instance, which, though it begins far back, is a modern There was formerly a butcher in the district in question, who united with the Pasha of Janina to subvert the laws and usages of his country. He succeeded in breaking through the ordinary routine, and in making a large personal profit at the expense of his fellow-citizens, although he paid a considerable sum to the pasha for his commission. The annual meetings were no longer held; and this butcher reigned as a petty tyrant. Another pasha came to govern at Janina; and the primates of the district took courage and went and presented their complaints, saying, among other things, that if the ruinous system to which they were subjected were not destroyed, they should soon be utterly prevented from paying their tribute.

Their representations were successful; and the butcher was driven out of the country. The victims of his long oppression razed his house to the ground, and soon reviving their ancient customs, returned to a state of as much prosperity as is compatible with Turkish dominion.

Some years afterwards the son of the butcher settled at Constantinople, where he began to plot anew against his native country. He soon crept up the sleeve of Ali Pasha, who, indeed, only carried out in this case the traditional policy of the Turks. The case had been brought before the court of justice at Constantinople, and a decision had already been given in favour of the people. This decision Ali Pasha arbitrarily caused to be set aside. Twenty of the primates went accordingly to the capital to plead the cause of their fellow-citizens. They remained there patiently for two years without being able to obtain a new hearing. At length they contrived to get the ear of the son of Reschid Pasha, who, on paying some attention to the subject, became convinced that justice was on their side. It was now thought politic to address the great reform minister himself, and the primates accordingly appeared before him, and having stated their case, added that they had already convinced his excellency's son. The latter therefore was called, and willingly gave testimony in their favour, upon which Reschid Pasha was pleased to observe, that the son of the butcher was a great scoundrel, but—what would they have?—he could not interfere with the decision of one of his colleagues!

The district accordingly was compelled, by the influence of Ali Pasha, to pay to the son of their former oppressor a large sum of money, as damages for the loss said to have been sustained by him in consequence of his father's exile. The poor people were already drained dry by the periodical exactions of the government. What was to be done? There was a fund, but a sacred fund, on which hands could be laid. It is the custom among the Greeks, for those who die in foreign countries to leave, by their wills, a sum of money for the establishment or the support of schools. The district had a

revenue of 75,000 piastres devoted to this purpose, which was confiscated in order to pay the debt which had been unjustly laid upon them.

A clever pamphlet just published*has given a good many details on the subject of these legacies for education. I will add, that most of the Greeks established in Russia are unmarried, and generally leave a great portion of their wealth for this purpose. The capital is deposited in the Bank of Russia, and the interest is paid as directed in the wills. Some one recently left for the district whose plunder I have just described the sum of £16,000 for the support of poor old men; but on examination it was found that no such class existed among the Greeks. The children, in whom the filial sentiment is strongly developed, always take charge of their aged parents, and

^{* &}quot;Hints on the Solution of the Eastern Question." See also the pamphlet printed at Athens, entitled "Quelques Mots sur la Question d'Orient." In this will be found a laborious and somewhat scholastic account of the development of the Hellenic element in Turkey. I have not had time sufficiently to examine its origin; but it appears to me to represent the opinion of the University of Athens.

would prefer starving themselves to allowing father or mother to suffer. It has not, therefore, yet been decided what is to be done with the money, but it is supposed that it will be devoted to educational purposes.

It must not be imagined that these efforts to favour the spread of knowledge are made without opposition on the part of the Turks. These barbarians, who are perhaps wise in their generation, throw every impediment they can in the way of the diffusion of education. There is an instance in which a college which was in course of being built was stopped, under pretence that it was intended as a fortress. and it now gleams like a white ruin on one of the slopes of Pindus. However, the energy of the Greeks has enabled them to overcome every kind of opposition, and I know of a district in which, out of 15,000 inhabitants, there are not three persons who are not able to read and write. It must be remembered that throughout Turkey whatever education exists is Greek, and in this way, even amongst semi-hostile races, a strong and homogeneous public opinion, not uninfluenced by the ideas of the old Attic

writers, is growing up. It is for this reason that I am inclined to accept the agitation that is now beginning, both in free Greece and in the Turkish empire, in favour of a new state, of which Byzantium is to be the capital. I know positively that this somewhat romantic idea is entertained on Hellenic grounds, not only by those who claim descent from the old civilizers of the world, but by Wallachians and Bulgarians.

CHAPTER XVI.

PROS AND CONS OF THE BYZANTINE EMPIRE.

I do not pretend, in the course of a few pages, to treat this great subject of the settlement of the eastern question in every point of view. The two leading ideas which it is my object to develop are these: -- first, that from internal and other causes, the Ottoman empire is no longer capable of real existence; second, that we may find proper elements for the construction of a New State, which, with a reasonable amount of assistance, may be placed in a condition to offer a strong opposition to the encroachments of Russia. It is evident that the whole of Europe has one interest in common-namely, to check the further rise of a power which is already as odious from its strength as from the principles on which it acts. The comparison has often been made before, and to repeat it at the present moment is perhaps of ill omen;—but Western Europe

is now trembling at the approach of another invasion of barbarians. Their mode of action may be different; but their immediate object is the same—the destruction of every form and symbol of civilization. There is this aggravation, moreover, in our case, that the Roman world was overrun by races of violent but simple character, who bore the germs of new institutions with them; whilst we are threatened with servitude, immediate or diplomatic, by a race which is corrupt as well as ignorant, servile as well as cruel. behoves every one of us, therefore, however humble may be the situation he occupies, to use his best endeavours to announce the danger before it draws too near.

Many persons have represented to me that this is not the time to suggest new plans of settlement—that it would be better to wait until the storm that is now gathering on the limits of the Ottoman empire has blown over, until the Cossack has dismounted, and the Russian has thrust back his half-drawn sword into the scabbard. But in the first place, whilst I have been calmly studying the question, this new idea has broken

through the ground in many places spontaneously; and there is no longer any possibility of checking its flow. And, moreover, there cannot be a better opportunity of attracting notice, than when all minds are inflamed by vague excitement on the subject. We are like metals; and must be heated before we are ready to receive an impression. It is with the firm conviction that the scheme I am now developing will ultimately be adopted under some form by diplomatists, that I put my small lever under the rock of public opinion, in the hope of advancing it a hair's breadth.

I have already sufficiently indicated the solution I would propose—not as originating with myself, for it has started up under fifty pens at once, but as that which circumstances imperatively suggest. The Turks are de facto extinct as a governing race in Europe. They may, by some cabinet leger-demain, remain for a while nominally at their post; but influence must henceforward come from elsewhere.

It is common to put forward the idea of a partition as the only alternative to the maintenance of "the integrity of the Ottoman empire." This may suit the vulgar rapacity of emperors, accustomed to count their subjects as misers count their gold, but can hardly meet with adherents in our liberal country. It may be found necessary, in another chapter of policy, for England at some future day to occupy Egypt; but she will never willingly do so as a compensation for the Russian possession of Constantinople. will be far wiser—if we admit the incapacity of the Turks to hold the key of dominionto look around for some element already on the spot which is capable of development. At once the Greeks present themselves; and the imagination contemplates with pleasure the idea of some form of freedom substituting itself, under the prestige of an ancient name, to the brutal tyranny of a horde of Asiatic barbarians.

Two capital objections may be made to the project of re-establishing a Byzantine empire,*—first, that it would contain within

^{*} I use this expression without any design of implying respect or admiration for the government formerly upset by the Turks. The Greeks, who forget in their exclu-

itself principles of disorgantization; and, second, that it would be liable, from community of religion, to undue influence from Russia. If the latter objection were founded in truth, certainly it would be better to leave the Greeks in their present condition, than to assist them in extricating themselves from it. A nation that can willingly bend under the knout, is of course undeserving of sympathy. But no one who knows the national character of the Greeks, can be tormented by any such fear. They are eminently a commercial people, and, as such, fond of novelty, and movement, and liberty. They require much space to breathe in - a lofty firmament above them - and would stifle under the low leaden sky of Russian despotism. It is true that their religion is the same as that of the Czar; but it is a notable error to affirm, as so many hasty writers do, that that potentate is the

siveness the danger of an exclusive name, seem fond of it; and it may be used, with a proviso, until a better is found. Even the word "Empire" is in itself liable to objection. I have not pretended to indicate what should be the political form of the new state; but of course, to have the sympathies of England, it must be constitutional.

pope of the Eastern Church. The Orientals have, and can have, no pope. They have primates of greater and lesser degree, but the idea of individual and sole authority is not accepted amongst them. Five or six seats divide the administration: and of these, ecclesiastically speaking, that of St. Petersburg is the least considerable. It is true that the Czar has contrived to set himself on a pedestal as the vice-regent of God before his grovelling subjects; but singular delusions of this kind are common to the Sclavonic race, and there are people who turn towards the Emperor of Austria with the same abject veneration. If the Greeks of the Turkish empire have sometimes committed the mistake of seeking protection from Russia, it has simply been because a distant tyranny is more supportable to the imagination than a present one. None of them have the least religious respect for the Autocrat. Their devout sentiments are transmitted to the Church through the medium of the priests; and there is nothing so impossible as to conceive them falling side by side with the Russian serf in abject adoration of the northern Man-Fetish.

French politicians, who are fond of treating great and vital questions with a fanciful, gentlemanly ease, quite irrespective of facts, seem to think that some danger to the Latin Church might arise if the oriental pope, chosen in imagination by the College of Ignorance, were to extend his political as well as his spiritual sway to the shores of the Mediterranean. The Latin Church, however, may take care of itself. No evil can arise to it but from its own intermeddling propensities. The real danger is, that if the traditional policy of Russia were carried into effect, the temporal authority of the Czar would crush the spirit of independence which the Oriental Church, left to itself, is capable of developing. Establish a Christian government at Constantinople, and I should be quite content to await the result of the contest of influences.

Let us now revert to the first objection that may be made to the creation of a Christian kingdom on the shores of the Bosphorus, arising from the difficulty of assigning its limits and providing for its duration. I have already admitted that, at the outset, some sharp reprisals may be made on the Turks in various localities; but if this is to be the case, it will not be averted by leaving the Greeks in their despair to throw themselves into the arms of Russia. We must remember, indeed, that perils attend on every course of policy. If we hesitate long, our assistance will be no longer accepted; and the race we abandon to its fate, may range itself temporarily under the banner which it will soon begin to curse.

I know that the Greeks of the Turkish empire have yet much to learn in civilization and the arts of government; but it is a mistake to suppose that they will ever learn their remaining lessons in their present condition. No nation fits itself for liberty under despotism. After a certain course of education, the youth quits his school yet raw and ignorant, and begins a new training in painful contest with the world. Keep him as long as you will under the ferule, even until his beard turn gray, and you will never make a man of him. Rules of conduct are burned

into the mind by suffering. Knowledge is a plant that must be watered with tears. this reason it is, that it is absurd to talk of educating a people for a republic under a monarchy; and to twaddle about the French not having been prepared for what they attempted in 1848. No nation can be prepared for such a trial. Some may resist it, but others may succumb; just as we find that in life two fine fellows, with equal prospects, are launched into the worldand one becomes prime-minister, wielding senates and directing the lava-stream of public opinion, whilst the other dwindles into the seedy fugleman of a debating society, discussing periodically whether Cæsar was a great man over a pot of porter.

The Greeks then, in spite of their vigorous efforts, cannot be expected, whilst in their present condition, to rise to the level of civil government. Considering many unfavourable circumstances, the little experiment tried in Greece proper has been sufficiently successful to encourage hope. We must not suffer our remembrance of small squabbles to interfere with a recognition of this fact,

that for ten years, since the establishment of their constitutional government, the representatives of the ancient Hellenes—be they blood-relations, or relations by self-adoption -have gone on improving in their quiet way, quite as much as can be expected from their position and the capabilities of their country. I am not prepared to maintain that the Hellenic theory, according to which the boundaries of the present kingdom of Greece should be extended and its capital removed, is the proper one. Perhaps the territory of King Otho, a little rounded off, must be left as a counterpart to Wallachia and Moldavia on the north. This question, however, must be decided among the Greeks themselves. Wherever the movement begins will be the centre. The principle to be applied will naturally flow from thence.

Hack politicians feel or affect great alarm, lest, after the construction of a Greek state at Constantinople, the traditional antipathies of the Hellenes and the Bulgarians should break forth. I do not by any means share in this alarm; and have already explained that intellectually, all the non-Muslim races

have become or are becoming Greek. There will be twitches and jerks at first, but matters will by degrees right themselves. The idea that has been put forward of a kind of federation of free states on the shores of the Danube,—Wallachia, Moldavia, Servia, and perhaps Bulgaria,—may under some form ripen at a future time. But we must remember that it would be the height of imprudence, if a new state be established, to repeat the same mistake that was made in the case of Greece, and narrow too much its boundary.

It is necessary, in fact, to create a strong power in the East, capable, at no distant day, in company with its natural allies and neighbours, of resisting as much of the force of Russia as can be directed against it. I can easily imagine that Catholicism may look with distrust on the rise of this power, and choose rather to see the Crescent flashing over the desolate provinces of Turkey than the White Cross on the black ground waving above reviving fertility. None but priests can appreciate in full the hatred excited by the Shop over the Way. Perhaps, however,

a West Indian planter, who blasphemed Wilberforce in his youth, and now moans over the flagitious sale of slave-grown sugar, may understand the alarm which gentlemen in black feel at the idea of competition-of free trade in religion. Luckily, we Protestants have no interest in the matter, or I should not trust our feelings of toleration. The Greeks, though attached to the Oriental ritual, are pre-eminently a protesting race, and if possessed of political independence and not irritated by the impertinent intermeddling of Jesuit or Lutheran missionaries, would soon work out and purify their form of faith. Nothing Hellenic can remain absurd or shocking; and abject submission is revolting to this mercurial people. As it is, in spite of some matters which may displease us, we must admit that the Oriental Church is far more rational than the Roman, far more adapted, if left to itself, to favour the development of the human mind. We have every reason, therefore, for desiring to see it removed from beneath Turkish oppression, and snatched away from the corrupting touch of Russia. There is even a chance

that the herd of serfs which has been effectually protected from the contact of western knowledge may find its Anatole in the East. Revolutionary principles, that is to say, principles of progress, which have hitherte been stopped at the frontier, may penetrate by the secret passages which community of faith alone can burrow; and the insolent autocrat who has once more frightened Europe from its propriety by his wanton menaces, may find that he has himself given the signal of the overthrow, or at any rate, of the limitation of his power. There is always a weapon waiting for the hand of England, if she choose to pick it up, by which she can defend herself and the principles of liberty, if required, against the attacks of all the despots of Europe, even combined. We have but to call upon the revolutionary party—the antagonistic party to the party of authoritywhich now lies grovelling on the ground, to levy an army of allies in every country. At the present moment there is only one overt enemy to contend with,-Russia, which has set itself up as the prop of every tottering tyranny; and it would be a satisfactory thing

to see it checked in its encroachments, as only it can be checked, by the unexpected appearance of a new revolutionary spirit having a distinct object in view, which every government that even pretends to be liberal must approve.

I notice that the scheme I am supporting, however imperfectly it has as yet been discussed, already excites great suspicion and alarm in many quarters. The Russian organs, especially abroad, are beginning to calumniate the Hellenes, and to exalt the purity of the Slavonic race. The cue given seems to be, that the Greeks are a fickle, cringing, chattering, cowardly people; and one person goes so far as to bestow upon them the opprobrious epithet of Athenian! It is also asserted, that at the Revolution only a few insignificant provinces rose, and that everything that took place was the result of support given by classical partiality. I have but to remind the reader who may be led away by this nonsense, that the whole force of the Turkish armies was insufficient to resist the Greeks, and that it was necessary to call in the help of a vast army from Egypt,

under the most ruthless captain of the age. As to the falsehood that the rayahs of the Ottoman provinces felt no interest in the struggle, it is scarcely necessary to allude to it. Every one knows that the greater part of the names distinguished in that heroic war belonged to persons born without the limits of the Greece created by protocols, that many conspiracies were set on foot, and that wherever there were mountains, insurrections took place. The Greeks of Constantinople certainly did not do all they might have done; but we must not either join in the mistake of supposing that they constitute the principal or the best portion of the Hellenic family subject to the Turks, or in overwhelming them too severely for errors of omission. They waited, with perhaps justifiable caution, -suspecting with reason, that though the western powers were content to witness a small revolution on classical ground, to please professors and students, they were not at that time, just after the close of an arduous struggle, disposed to endanger, by supporting any very great change, the equilibrium of a continent which they

had just succeeded in poising on the top of a needle. However, we may be quite sure that at the first signal from Europe every man would rise to drive out the Turks and arm against Russia.

Some cabinet politicians favourable to the ultimate development of the Hellenic power seem to regret the revolution of 1821, and see in it a cause of check and discomfiture for the idea they support. They write from Athens, that if that outbreak had not taken place, the whole of Christian Turkey would now have been Hellenized. They lay great stress on the progress of education; and put their trust in literature and philosophy. is a narrow view of the subject. No nation excites active sympathies which is chary of its blood. What party would spare a throb for the crouching Armenian or the coward Copt? It is precisely because the Greeks are as gallant, if as talkative, as of old, that the idea of restoring to them their patrimony has presented itself; and I can tell the doctors who speculate in this gentle way, that no great change in the distribution of political power can

take place without some hard blows. Why, a contested election in England is never brought to a conclusion without a score of black eyes and half a dozen broken heads. The sword is the lever of Archimedes, by which the world is moved; the pen is Archimedes himself. We must not expect, under the most favourable circumstances, that the Turks, however degraded, will receive a notice to quit with less indignation than an Irish peasant. They will resist partially, at any rate; and the Greeks will have to fight them out of Europe, whilst England and France stand by to see fair play. It is evident that Russia cannot interfere in support of the Sultan; and she must be politely informed that her assistance is not required by the Greeks.

I have not much alluded to the position of Austria in this discussion, because, whilst I write, it is not well defined. Evidently, it would be great imprudence on the part of that power to favour the pretensions of Russia. By so doing it would hasten its inevitable downfall. Innocent people, unacquainted with the morals of diplomacy,

have mentioned the great services rendered by the Czar to his cousin at the time of the Hungarian war of independence; but they may be answered by the keen saying of Prince Schwartzenberg: "Austria owes acknowledgments so great to Russia, that she can never repay her, except by the blackest ingratitude." The time has come for the application of this saying; but England has nothing to do with so atrocious a system of ethics—good for the relations of imperial cousins one with the other—and must choose an independent line of policy for herself. France, it is true,—though we cannot calculate on the motions of individual eccentricity -is strongly interested in supporting us; and with that ally we may forthwith proceed to a settlement of the question. It must be well understood, however, that no absurd claims for protection of the Holy Places shall be revived.

For the present my thesis is sufficiently developed. I think I have given ample reasons for believing that the Turkish domination is at the last gasp; and that it must be succeeded by a Christian state. If this

idea can be carried out, a new direction will be given to European politics, and we shall be delivered for ever from that intermittent fever called the Eastern Question. Of course, other complications may arise. The millennium of peace is not yet at hand; but, at any rate, the menacing power of Russia will have been effectually checked in its development, and we shall be soon delivered from that dangerous class of persons who, fascinated by the huge magnitude of the enemy, become its partisans from very fear, and work out its objects by fighting against the progress of liberal ideas—in which, after all, and not in any stupid resuscitation of the idea of authority, Europe must look for its salvation.

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